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EDUCATIONALLY AND ECONOMICALLY DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN

JOINT HEARING

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES UNITED STATES SENATE

AND THE

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ONE HUNDREDTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

REVIEWING AVAILABLE EDUCATION OPPORTUNITIES FOR DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN, FOCUSING ON THOSE CHILDREN LIVING IN POVERTY, THOSE FROM SINGLE-PARENT FAMILIES, AND THOSE WHOSE PARENTS ARE TEENAGERS

SEPTEMBER 9, 1987

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CONTENTS

STATEMENTS

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1987

	Page
Butler, Owen B., former chairman, the Procter & Gamble Co., vice chairman of the board of trustees of the Committee for Economic Development, Cincinnati, OH; Irving B. Harris, president, the Ounce of Prevention Fund, president, Standard Shares, Inc., Chicago, IL; David A. Hamburg, president, the Carnegie Corp. of New York, NY; Marian Wright Edelman, president, Children's Defense Fund, Washington, DC; and David P. Weikart, president, High/Scope Education Research Foundation, Ypsilanti, MI	8
Prepared statement of:	
Mr. Butler	11
Mr. Harris	24
Mr. Hamburg	45
Mr. Weikart	112
Pell, Hon. Claiborne, a U.S. Senator from the State of Rhode Island, prepared statement	5
Simon, Hon. Paul, a U.S. Senator from the State of Illinois, prepared statement	40

ADDITIONAL MATERIAL

Questions and answers:	
Responses of Mr. Harris to questions submitted by Senator Kennedy	33
Responses of Mr. Hamburg to questions submitted by Senator Kennedy	98
Responses of Mr. Weikart to questions submitted by Senator Kennedy	127

EDUCATIONALLY AND ECONOMICALLY DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1987

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR,
Washington, DC.

The committees met, pursuant to notice, at 2:15 p.m., in room 430, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Senator Edward M. Kennedy (chairman, Committee on Labor and Human Resources), and Representative Augustus F. Hawkins (chairman, Committee on Education and Labor) presiding.

Present: Senators Kennedy, Mikulski, Stafford, and Simon and Representatives Hawkins, Goodling, Petri, Hayes, Owens, Perkins, Martinez, Bartlett, Atkins, Wise, and Sawyer.

The CHAIRMAN. We will come to order.

I think this is a rather important historical occasion. According to our research, this is the first time we have had a joint committee meeting between the House Education and Labor Committee and the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee in over 20 years. We are enormously appreciative of Chairman Hawkins and other members of the House who have joined with us today to bring attention to one of the most important issues that we are facing as a nation. It is a real challenge to provide a decent quality education to disadvantaged children in our country.

How appropriate it is that we have this hearing on the first day of business in the Senate after the August recess, and how appropriate it is that we hold this hearing at a time when the parents of our country's school children, teachers and the children themselves are in the process of returning to school. I think that this meeting is enormously important and significant. The message we are going to receive is one of enormous distress, as well as one of extraordinary challenge, one which our country, if it is going to be true to its traditions and true to its values which say that our most precious resource is our people and specifically our children—cannot fail to heed.

It is a powerful message which many of us, including those members who are here today and others who have been working on the subject matter over a long period of time have had the opportunity to visit at different times.

I will have an opportunity to greet and to introduce to the committee, a very distinguished group of American citizens who are

well qualified to speak on this subject. I want to say at the outset how much we appreciate the extraordinary amount of time they have taken in an area that should be a genuine concern to all American people, and to say how honored and privileged that we are to have them today.

I will have my full and complete statement printed in the record as if read.

[The full statement of Senator Kennedy follows:]

OPENING STATEMENT BY SENATOR EDWARD M. KENNEDY

The CHAIRMAN. I'd like to thank Congressman Hawkins for making a trip across the Capitol so this might be a joint hearing by the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources and the House Committee on Education and Labor. It's fitting on the first day back after the August recess that we consider together a concern that ought to be at the top of our agendas: the needs of educationally and economically disadvantaged children. This is the first joint education hearing between the full committees in the last twenty years, a fact which underscores the importance with which we view the needs of at-risk children.

The extent of poverty in this country is appallingly high and a disturbing number of poor Americans—40 percent by one estimate—are children. Nearly half of all black children and more than a third of Hispanic children live in poverty. Children are put at risk by other factors as well. Since 1970 the number of single-parent families has increased 124 percent at the same time that the number of children increased just 12 percent. According to one recent estimate, half the children born in New York City in 1984 can expect to be on public assistance before reaching adulthood.

This is bad news because poverty is often inherited: Children who grow up in poverty often spend their adult lives in poverty as well. For less advantaged children, education and other early intervention efforts are key to a future of good health, a good job, and a strong voice in the democratic process. The evidence shows that high quality early intervention initiatives are effective and efficient public policies. So the choice is clear—either we ameliorate the effects of poverty for those who are born into it, or we deal with the consequences when they are adults.

The Federal Government already has several major programs to help economically disadvantaged children. The best known are Head Start and Chapter 1. These are successful programs but they serve only a fraction of eligible children. To fully fund these programs we would have to increase spending considerably at a time when the federal budget is already far out of balance.

In addition to these tried and true programs, we need to consider what the gaps are and how we can improve the services available. It's time to take a fresh, careful look at what we can do through public policy to break the cycle of poverty. We've begun this effort with an array of new program proposals:

The Comprehensive Child Development Centers Act, which was reported unanimously out of the Senate Labor Committee last month, would provide early, continuous, and comprehensive serv-

ices to disadvantaged children extending from prenatal care through age five.

The Literacy Corps, which is included in the education section of the trade bill, could provide 8 million hours of tutoring services for children, school dropouts, and adults.

To improve the access of high-risk mothers and children to necessary health care we have introduced the Infant Mortality Amendments of 1987, which has passed the Senate and is pending in the House.

In this spirit, we will continue to look for new initiatives. The Committee for Economic Development's report on "Children in Need" is a pre-eminent contribution to this effort, and we look forward to Mr. Butler's presentation this afternoon. In addition, we have asked several experts on the needs of disadvantaged children to offer their insights today. Each has already made significant contributions to easing the plight of these children, and they will be offering valuable assistance as we work toward what is the most important goal of all for America—investing in our future—our children.

I recognize the chairman of the House committee, Chairman Hawkins.

I thought, Chairman Hawkins, that we would hear each speaker on our panel, and then go to questions. I thought we would allow members to ask questions in the order in which they arrive, irrespective of party and irrespective of the institution. It looks like you have all the House committee members here. I know that after the conclusion of our cloture vote, several Senators will join us, and that there are a number of others who have expressed a very deep interest to attend.

Our cochairman, Gus Hawkins.

Mr. HAWKINS. Thank you, Senator Kennedy.

May I also ask that my statement be placed in the record in its entirety, and I will not read it out of deference to the witnesses.

OPENING STATEMENT OF AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS

Mr. HAWKINS. The House Committee on Education and Labor is pleased to join with the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee this afternoon for what I consider to be a very important hearing for our country.

We will hear testimony from the American business community and others urging increased attention on educating disadvantaged students. We will be urged to take action not soley for social reasons, but also for economic reasons.

I applaud our witnesses for bringing this message to us. And, I am proud that the House of Representatives has already passed a bill, H.R. 5, the School Improvement Act of 1987, which will go a long way in carrying out the recommendations we will hear today. H.R. 5, which contains input from the business community, as well as a broad range of concerned organizations and individuals, calls for increased aid for the poorest, new drop-out prevention programs, new preschool programs and new adult literacy programs. At the same time, our bill strengthens and increases programs which have already proven to be successful and cost-effective.

The House has recently passed an appropriation bill which puts additional money behind our ideas. For instance, Chapter One funding for disadvantaged students has been increased by 16 percent.

I mention these facts to encourage our witnesses. There are many of us in Congress who believe in what you have to say, and we are doing what we can to take action. I look forward to receiving your testimony today.

We are very pleased to join with you, and I think you can obviously see we outnumber you in quantity if not in quality. We look forward to this hearing.

May I simply indicate that the House has already acted, as you well know, on H.R. 5, the School Improvement Act of 1987, which does incorporate many suggestions and recommendations of the organizations represented by the witnesses today. I only say that to encourage the witnesses to understand that their input has already had significant impact on the subject matter and that, following the adoption of the School Improvement Act, the Appropriations Committee and the House also have acted to back it up with funding. The funding for Chapter 1, for example, has been increased 16 percent, and I may indicate that those of you from the business community have had a tremendous impact on in a sense changing the mood of the House and hopefully of the Congress.

So we have already, I think, indicated support for many of the recommendations.

I quite agree with the ground rules, Senator Kennedy, that you have laid out.

The CHAIRMAN. I am sure I completely agree with them now. [Laughter.]

Mr. HAWKINS. We have, as you know, bipartisan support here and we certainly will accommodate obviously to the time schedule of the Senate.

The CHAIRMAN. I will tell you what we would like to do. We can proceed with the presentation now, or we can take a recess. I think everybody wants to come back. I would be glad to take a recess. It seems to me you ought to go over and vote and come back. I think it is important we have that kind of opportunity.

Mr. HAWKINS. We will agree to a recess.

[Short recess.]

The CHAIRMAN. We will come back to order.

We have been joined by Senator Mikulski and Senator Stafford. Senator Stafford was formely Chairman of the Education subcommittee, and is now the ranking minority member, and Senator Mikulski is an extremely active member of the Human Resources Committee. I will mention to them the way that we thought we would proceed——

Senator STAFFORD. Will the Chairman yield to me for a very brief statement?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Senator STAFFORD. I think the record ought to show that Senator Pell had planned to be here, but he is chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and managing the nomination of one of our Ambassadors being contested. And he has been kept on the floor.

I would ask that my statement and Senator Pell's statement both appear in the record at this point.

The CHAIRMAN. They will appear in the record.

OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR STAFFORD

Senator STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I am pleased that the House Education and Labor Committee and the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee are joining together this afternoon to take a look at the recent report of the Committee for Economic Development on Disadvantaged Children. Over the last few years, I have become increasingly convinced that the very serious and long-term problems many poor children face can only be addressed successfully by programs which reach these children as early as possible. In particular, the partnership approach which is espoused by CED both in this report and also in the very structure of the CED organization, is what is needed in many communities to make the difference. Businesses, government, schools, universities, community-based organizations, and religious groups all working together can make the difference and we need to do everything we can to encourage partnership programs.

In this Senator's mind, there is no way we can overstate the serious nature of the problem before us today. Our Nation cannot continue to ignore the talents and gifts of the millions of poor children who fall by the wayside of failure and despair each year. We pay for this failure now in many ways—one statistic used repeatedly is the $240 billion in lost earnings and foregone taxes for each class of dropouts.

However, in the future, we need the brain power of these children to help keep our Nation strong. Their accomplishments will be the fundamental building block of our country as we enter the 21st century.

Again, Mr. Chairman, I think members of this committee will benefit greatly from today's hearing. I appreciate the time and effort that our witnesses have contributed to our hearing.

[The prepared statement of Senator Pell follows:]

STATEMENT OF SENATOR CLAIBORNE PELL

Mr. PELL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to commend you and Chairman Hawkins for holding this hearing on the critical need to invest in the education of our children. I regret however, that I will be unable to participate in the hearing and to hear the testimony firsthand.

The members of this committee, and the members of the House Committee on Education and Labor, have long recognized the importance of providing compensatory education to students who are educationally or economically disadvantaged. In fact, I was one of the original cosponsors of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, the first authorizing legislation for Title I, compensatory education. That act clearly established that the Federal Government had a clear role * * * indeed a fundamental responsibility * * * to ensure that all children have access to a quality education.

The recognition of this responsibility has not always been universal, however. In the early 1980's the administration waged a fierce battle to cut Federal education programs severely. While we were successful for the most part in preventing these cuts from taking place, the sad truth is that many of our important education programs have not even kept pace with inflation. Overall, from 1980 to 1984, the Federal support of all of education declined from 9 percent in 1980 to 6.5 percent in 1984. Most disturbing, however, is the fact that our most important Federal elementary and secondary education program, Chapter 1, has actually lost ground since 1980. If you factor in inflation, the program has suffered a cut of 17 percent over the past 7 years.

Today I am happy to say that we are once again able to move forward. The fiscal year 1988 budget resolution made provision for a $2.3 billion increase in education, including a $600 to $800 million increase for Chapter 1. Our work however, is far from over. The Chapter 1 program is currently only able to serve about 45 percent of children who are eligible for compensatory education services. And the number of children in poverty is on the rise.

That is why the testimony of the Committee for Economic Development is so welcome today. I applaud their call to business to support funding for education programs that benefit the disadvantaged. It is encouraging as well that according to a recent Louis Harris poll, 77 percent of the people said that they would pay higher taxes to improve education. David Broder noted in the Washington Post this morning that California voters, who overwhelmingly passed Proposition 13, would rather see $700 million in State surplus funds given to the public schools than rebated to State income taxpayers.

This is good news indeed. It is good news for each student whose future welfare so critically depends on the quality of his education. And it is good news for our society as a whole. For as I have said many, many times, the strength and health of this Nation depends not on our weapons of destruction, our machinery of construction, or even on the amount of gold in Fort Knox. It depends largely upon the sum total of the education and character of our people.

Thank you, and I look forward to reviewing the testimony we will receive this afternoon.

Senator STAFFORD. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Mikulski.

OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR MIKULSKI

Senator MIKULSKI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to thank you and Chairman Hawkins and my colleagues in the House for holding this hearing to draw attention to an issue critical to getting America ready for the future.

I would also like to thank the Committee for Economic Development for the hard, thorough and meticulous work they have put into getting this paper ready because it highlights the problems of educationally disadvantaged children in America.

We have recognized for some time these children need extra health care and extra education opportunities, over a sustained

period of time. There is no quick fix, no easy solution, and no short cuts, if they are going to contribute to America's future.

This report also says something new and important because it calls on business not just State and Federal government to support funding the programs we know work—like Head Start and the emphasis on plain old-fashioned reading and writing—but the report calls for an investment strategy. What a wonderful way to look at it, to invest in children so we can invest in our country.

I have always said the best social program is a job. Well, the best way to get someone a job is to make sure they are educated.

We see what business can do. And as I traveled through the counties in Maryland, I found local businesses eager to help, whether it is adopting schools or offering incentives. For example, in Prince Georges County, local business offered incentives by providing 1 to 2 months' rent free housing for teachers to come and teach in our schools.

The local business also again made sure that they were there to help teachers with mortgages and other activities so they could have a future in the community and in the school.

We would encourage this farsighted help by the private sector of this country in times of huge budget deficits when the Federal Government can only do so much. We need public and private investment strategies together.

We in Congress can do our part by increasing funding for Chapter 1 and Headstart and other important programs, but we also need to provide more incentives for business to make these kinds of investments. We all must do our part in America. America cannot afford to waste its precious resources. Our children are our future, and I look forward to working with this new CED team.

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Chairman, may I ask that we recognize the ranking Republican member of the committee, Mr. Goodling, who is with me.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Goodling.

OPENING STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN GOODLING

Mr. GOODLING. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to thank all of you for coming. If we can get the public sector and the private sector working hand in glove, we will solve the many problems that need to be solved.

For years I have tried to indicate that unless we do something about working with preschool youngsters and their parents at the same time, we are not going to do very much about tackling the problem of having somewhere between 26 and 60 million functional illiterates in this country. Functional illiterates in this country of that magnitude can only destroy any economic growth that we might contemplate. Even worse than that, it means that 26 to 60 million people do not have an opportunity to fully participate in our way of life. That is a real tragedy.

So I thank you for joining together. As the Chairman said, we have put H.R. 5 together with the idea of making our country more competitive and, at the same time, making sure that all have an equal opportunity to participate in our way of life. We think H.R. 5 does that. We encourage the Senate to move rapidly and, while the

iron is hot and the public is interested, we can capitalize on getting into their pocketbooks. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other statements?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. We will move right ahead to recognize Mr. Owen Butler, former chairman of the Procter & Gamble Co., and vice chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Committee for Economic Development.

If it is agreeable to the committee, we will hear from the full panel, and we ask them to put up with our time limit. We do not want to cut away from important observations that you have, but you can tell by the number of members that we will have a lot of questions. We will recognize Mr. Butler and go down the list.

STATEMENTS OF OWEN B. BUTLER, FORMER CHAIRMAN, THE PROCTER & GAMBLE CO., VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, CINCINNATI, OH; IRVING B. HARRIS, PRESIDENT, THE OUNCE OF PREVENTION FUND, PRESIDENT, STANDARD SHARES, INC., CHICAGO, IL; DAVID A. HAMBURG, PRESIDENT, THE CARNEGIE CORP. OF NEW YORK, NY; MARIAN WRIGHT EDELMAN, PRESIDENT, CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND, WASHINGTON, DC; AND DAVID P. WEIKART, PRESIDENT, HIGH/SCOPE EDUCATION RESEARCH FOUNDATION, YPSILANTI, MI

Mr. BUTLER. Thank you, Senator Kennedy.

Chairman Kennedy and Chairman Hawkins, ladies and gentlemen, I first want to thank you for giving us this opportunity to present the views of the Committee for Economic Development on the investment strategies required for our children in need. I am in agreement.

I will ask to have our written testimony put in the record and, without reading it, make a few short comments.

The Board of Trustees of the Committee for Economic Development includes about 250 senior executives supported by a professional staff, and advised by some of the nation's most respected citizens. The group does not represent any industry or even business generally in the normal sense of the word. Instead, it seeks to anticipate unusual economic opportunities or problems for our country as a whole and to find qualified individuals who would devote the time and energy necessary to study the issue and propose the program that will best serve our country.

The trustees of CED believe very deeply that American business and industry can prosper only if our society continues to be a peaceful, prosperous democracy.

In 1982, the CED launched a major effort on behalf of public education in the United States. The reason was simple. Our trustees believed that nothing will more surely affect the future productivity of our society and the prosperity of our economy and the quality of the people who make up our businesses and our industries. If we are to recapture our position as the world leader in productivity and living standards, then we must regain our position as the nation with the best and the most broadly educated population in the world.

I was privileged to chair CED's Subcommittee on Education and to have as members not only a distinguished group of businessmen but an equally distinguished group of professionals in the field of education who spent three years developing a set of 89 recommendations which any school district can use to prepare their children to lead more productive economic lives, to make their schools more accountable and productive, and to attract, retain and get optimum contribution from a talented and dedicated teacher work force.

But, during those studies, we found mounting evidence that the reform movements of recent years, while they are beginning to improve the effectiveness of our schools for many students, are simply not reaching the neediest students. That learning led to the creation of a subsequent subcommittee to deal only with the children who are deprived and disadvantaged during their early childhood. The policy statement titled "Children in Need" was published yesterday. The overriding conclusion in that report is that this Nation cannot afford to defer making the investment in these children which is required during their earliest years in order to prevent their later failure.

We have identified a whole series of programs dealing with issues all the way from prenatal care to impoverished mothers to job programs for disadvantaged high school students, each of which is in place somewhere in this country.

We evaluated those programs from a purely economic standpoint, and we concluded that an adequate investment in the right kinds of programs for these disadvantaged children will in fact pay big profits to the taxpayer. The earlier in a child's life the investment is made, the more effective and the more efficient it will be.

But there is a more compelling reason to make this investment than simple economics and profitability. Unique among the nations of this world, our Nation is not defined by geography, race, religion or ancestry. It is instead defined by a vision of what a nation should be, a society in which all people of good will can live together in peace, govern themselves, and offer every child born or brought into the society an equal opportunity to develop his or her talent to the optimum and to enjoy the fruits of individual effort.

To me, the vision is best stated poetically in the verse of "America the Beautiful" which says, "Her alabaster cities gleam undimmed by human tears." That does not describe Watts very well or Harlem or parts of Baltimore or parts of Cincinnati, OH. But it is a goal. It is a goal we have never reached, but it is a goal which every generation of Americans must strive to bring closer to reality, and the greatest barrier to the achievement of that goal today is not from foreign shores, it is from poverty and ignorance.

Our report has good news. It is the news in two years of study that we do, in fact, know how to conquer that ignorance and, through conquering ignorance, we can conquer poverty in just one generation. We can do that if we will ensure every child born in this country has a reasonably healthy start, a normal birth weight, and is given sound parenting for the critical first 5 years of life.

If a child has no parents or has parent who are unable or unwilling to provide sound parenting, then we must provide supplemental parenting in high quality infant/child care centers and in high quality preschool programs. It is only through that kind of inten-

sive early involvement in the lives of these children that we can be sure of preventing the problems that plague us in teenage pregnancies, drugs, alcohol, crime and dropouts.

It is very late. Twenty-five percent of our children under 6 are now living in poverty and, in many of our cities, the number is more like 50 percent. It is already too late to provide care before age 6 for any child who will graduate from high school in this century. We can remove much of the tax burden of welfare and for prisons from our grandchildren and beyond that we can remove the despair and desperation from the lives of many of our children in need. We can move our Nation closer to the realization of our vision.

We know how to break the cycle of poverty. Failing to make the necessary investment to do that is economic foolishness and a crime against humanity.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Butler follows:]

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY
September 9, 1987

TESTIMONY

OF

OWEN B. BUTLER

RETIRED CHAIRMAN OF THE PROCTER & GAMBLE COMPANY

AND

VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

ON

CHILDREN IN NEED: INVESTMENT STRATEGIES FOR THE EDUCATIONALLY DISADVANTAGED

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES

THE UNITED STATES SENATE

AND THE

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

THE UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEPTEMBER 9, 1987

My name is Owen B. Butler and I am the retired chairman of The Procter & Gamble Company and vice chairman of the Committee for Economic Development.

It is my firm belief that if we as a nation do not change the way we deal with children born into poverty, discrimination, or neglect, the United States will face the certainty of a permanent and growing underclass. By continuing to allow nearly one-third of our children to fail, we will not only impoverish these children, we will impoverish our nation -- culturally, politically, and economically.

Nearly one million children each year fail to complete their education. Most are only marginally literate and virtually unemployable. Many will fall prey to a variety of social ills, including drug abuse and crime. Many will become parents without first learning how to fend for themselves. One out of every six babies now born in the United States is born to a teenage mother. These young parents will become mired in the welfare system, unable to provide a decent future for themselves or their children. Another cycle of poverty will have begun.

In recognition of these problems, CED yesterday issued a new policy statement titled Children in Need: Investment Strategies for the Educationally Disadvantaged, which calls for

a national campaign of early and sustained involvement in the lives of disadvantaged children as the only way to help them break the shackles of lifelong dependency and failure. One of those who joined me in developing the report was Irving Harris, founder of the Beethoven Project, who will be testifying about that program today.

In the past five years, CED has focused sharply on the relationship between education, productivity, and our nation's ability to compete in an increasingly challenging global economy. In 1985, CED issued Investing in Our Children: Business and the Public Schools, which spotlighted the profound gap that exists between the skills needed in the workplace and those being learned by students in our schools. The recommendations contained in that report have played an important role in the first wave of education reform, and the report is being used by educators, business leaders, and policy makers in states, cities, and towns across the country as a blueprint for education reform.

Yet, even as we completed that study, we knew that further work had to be done. As we saw it, the education reform movement had largely ignored the plight of disadvantaged. Most reform initiatives have focused on raising standards and graduation requirements at the high school level without

providing the kind of extra help that most disadvantaged students need in order to meet these new standards. The result has been even higher dropout rates for the disadvantaged, who now make up about 30 percent of our school population.

CED's new statement, Children in Need, is a call by business leaders for every sector of our nation to make the needs of disadvantaged children a top national priority. As heads of major corporations, we are asking the business community to recognize the profound stake it has in ensuring that every child has access to quality education and is able to benefit from that education. We are concerned that unless actions are taken, the high rate of undereducation combined with inevitable demographic forces will soon lead to a severe shortage of Americans who are willing and able to work or who can make informed political decisions.

If we fail to make the investment needed now to break this vicious cycle of poverty and ignorance, we will only have to pay more later, both financially and in terms of human misery. Every class of dropouts costs this nation about $240 billion over the course of their lifetimes in lost wages and unpaid taxes. The cost in crime control, welfare payments, remedial education, and health and social services account for billions more.

With the right kind of support from caring adults, many children from disadvantaged backgrounds are able to overcome early deprivation and excel in school. Yet a disproportionate number of disadvantaged children cannot benefit from even quality education because they are damaged physically, intellectually, and emotionally long before they enter the classroom.

The shame of our society is that we do know how to prevent many of these children from failing and to reverse some of the damage wrought by childhood poverty. We know that working with three- and four-year-olds and their parents in high-quality preschool programs to give them a "head start" yields measurable benefits. For every $1 invested in such quality preschool education, we can expect a substantial return of $4.75 in the reduced costs of remedial education, welfare, crime, and other social services.

We also know that the earlier we start, the less costly our efforts will be. Another of today's witnesses, David Hamburg, president of the Carnegie Corporation, has pointed out that intensive care for low-birth-weight babies can easily cost taxpayers $1,000 a day. Yet prenatal care for a pregnant teenager may cost as little as $600.

It is clearly a superior investment for both society and individuals to forestall later failure by improving the lives of at-risk parents and their children in their earliest years. Children in Need makes a number of specific recommendations in the area of early intervention that we believe can help children embark and stay on the road to successful lives. These include:

- o Encouraging pregnant teenagers and those with babies to stay in school and develop good job skills, so that they can become independent and self-supporting.

- o Sponsoring programs that educate youngsters to their options in life other than early parenting.

- o Providing prenatal and postnatal care for pregnant teens and other high-risk mothers, and family health care and developmental screening for their children. Many avoidable learning deficiencies are the result of poor health care and nutrition during pregnancy and early childhood.

- o Providing parenting education for both mothers and fathers. Teenage and other at-risk parents need to be taught how to care properly for their children and provide them with appropriate health care, nutrition, and intellectual

stimulation. Studies of child-care and preschool programs show that the best results come from programs designed to improve parenting skills and home life.

- o Offering quality child-care arrangements for teenagers in school and for poor working parents. Child-care should stress social skills, language development, and school readiness. Programs for teen parents that provide onsite day care offer excellent opportunities to teach good parenting skills.

- o Making quality preschool programs available to all disadvantaged three- and four-year-olds. Quality preschool programs have been shown to improve school readiness, enhance later academic and social performance, and reduce the need for remedial education during the school years.

In the course of doing the CED study, our research identified a number of early prevention programs that we believe to be most promising in their ability to break the cycle of failure. One of these is the Beethoven Project in Chicago, which my colleague Irving Harris will be describing in his testimony later this afternoon. The Beethoven Project embodies the principles of early and sustained involvement and will provide a whole-child approach to the needs of disadvantaged

children and their parents. I am pleased to note that this program is serving as a model for legislation on comprehensive child development centers that is being developed by Senator Kennedy's committee, and that many of the provisions in that legislation reflect the principles contained in CED's recommendations on early prevention.

Another particularly effective early prevention program identified by CED is the New Futures School in Albuquerque, New Mexico, which works with pregnant teenagers and teen mothers to ensure that their children are born healthy and stay healthy. The young parents are enrolled in a comprehensive program that includes education in basic academic and job skills, parenting education, social support services, day care, and job training and referral.

We also cite the Ysleta Pre-Kinder Center in El Paso as a model Head Start program. The center helps its disadvantaged and non-English-speaking young students to develop language, motor, and social skills, and their parents are taught English, given parenting assistance, and encouraged to become active in their children's education.

In stressing the necessity of early prevention, I do not mean to downplay the need to press ahead with education

reform. In fact, the CED report warns that there is little sense in giving disadvantaged children a head start if the schools that await them fail to build on early successes and instead promote failure. The graduating class of the year 2000 will start school this week, and they will join about 10 million other disadvantaged children and teens who are or should be in school.

In Children in Need, we call for sweeping reform of the education system to make schools more responsive to the needs of the disadvantaged. We call for fundamental restructuring of the way schools are organized, managed, staffed, and financed. We support school-based management, greater decision-making ability for teachers with a demonstrated commitment to teaching the disadvantaged, smaller schools and smaller classes, and a variety of social support, health care, and extracurricular programs.

Where do we see the federal role in all of this? We do not expect the federal government to shoulder the full burden of addressing the special needs of the disadvantaged. We see the federal role as one of leveraging resources and pointing the way for state and local governments, who, ultimately, have the responsibility for education. We also see an important role for the federal government in establishing demonstration projects and

providing the research that can track programs and evaluate progress.

We do, however, ask the federal government to reaffirm its long-standing commitment to ensuring that the disadvantaged have access to quality education. Without equity, excellence is impossible. We consider it essential that funding of Chapter I remedial reading and mathematics programs and Head Start is brought up to levels sufficient to ensure that all eligible children are served. These programs have proven their ability to narrow the gap in achievement between disadvantaged and nondisadvantaged children.

Some of the changes CED advocates can be put in place now; others address fundamental, structural weaknesses in our public schools and in our policies toward children and youths. Making these longer-term changes will take a sustained effort and a firm commitment by a broad-based coalition of government, education, business, and community leaders.

Part of this commitment must be a willingness to increase our financial investment in children. We contend that any strategy that aims to improve the development and education of disadvantaged children must recognize the need for additional resources, or it is doomed to failure.

In closing, I would like to stress that the business community's concern extends far beyond the narrow dollars-and-cents issues. We view this as a survival issue. Whether the nation remains free and prosperous will depend on our ability to give every American child the opportunity to develop to his or her full potential. As business leaders, we believe it is incumbent upon us to become a persuasive voice for the millions of disadvantaged children who cannot speak out for themselves.

* * *

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

We move now to Irving Harris, president of the Ounce of Prevention Fund, and president of Standard Shares, Inc. of Chicago.

Happy to have you here.

Mr. HARRIS. Senator Kennedy, Chairman Hawkins, distinguished members, may I thank you for this opportunity to address you.

This is indeed a red letter day. You have long recognized the importance of addressing the special needs of educationally and economically disadvantaged children. In fact, you may wonder what took the business community so long to catch up. Sometimes I ask myself the same question. Anyway, here we are.

We all recognize that education is the gate out of poverty. Whether you or I have humane instincts and empathy for a child born in poverty is really not material. Even if we hate kids, we should all understand that it is going to cost us all a lot of money down the line if we fail to see every child is educated and equipped to be a participant in our economy and in our social system.

Twenty years ago, I started with an interest in preventing school dropouts. Good prevention programs not only reduce dropouts but also reduce infant mortality, child abuse and neglect, lives of crime and prison, handicapping and profound retardation. Prevention also lowers the cost for Medicaid, public aid, drug and alcohol abuse programs, and we all know that children born at high medical risk and high educational risk are likely to fail in school and fail at living independent lives.

When they turn 18, they find themselves out of school, out of work and out of the job market.

I am not a farmer, but I know if you give me a handful of seed and I plant half of it off to the left and half to the right and in the area off to the left I make sure that those seeds are going to have sunlight and water and fertilizer, those seeds will grow well. On the other hand if, off to the right is little sun and very little water and no fertilizer, the plants in that area will not grow as well. We all know that.

Similarly, if a child has a good start, nine months of nourishment in his mother's womb, assuming that his mother has benefited from good nutrition and avoid drugs and alcohol and smoking during her pregnancy, that baby will arrive on schedule 9 months later ready to take on the world.

If a child, on the other hand, is born premature, weighing two to three pounds at birth, that baby starts off life with two strikes against it. Premature children, when they are housed in a neonatal intensive care unit, costs something like $1,000 a day in Illinois. They say womb rent is the cheapest rent.

Child development specialists have learned a great deal about infant and toddler development, particularly in the last 20 years. They confirm what those of us who are parents already know, a child learns enormous amounts in its first few months and its first few years. To me, therefore, it is puzzling in this school year that the total expenditures for education in this country on children from the age of 6 up will amount to $308 million, but for those critical years before 6, our Federal Government will spend a little over a billion dollars on Head Start, and perhaps another fraction of a billion of private money. 308 billion versus 1 billion is not a very

smart ratio in view of all of our knowledge about how important those early days and months and years are to a child's healthy development.

Through parent education, medical care and social support, we must target all such children to be sure they are ready for school and ready for life. That is the thrust of the Comprehensive Child Development Centers Act of 1987, Senate bill 1542, sponsored by Senator Kennedy and unanimously reported by the Committee on Labor and Human Resources a few days ago.

I strongly support this legislative initiative. The bill recognizes the need for early investments by providing, as you put it, Senator Kennedy, these early, continuous and comprehensive services to very poor children and their families.

Our Beethoven Project in Chicago is an example of such an intervention program. Briefly, this project attempts to provide needed services to all children who will be born in six adjacent buildings in the Robert Taylor Homes. We begin with prenatal care to all mothers, and continue working with the children and their mothers straight through the children's entrance to kindergarten in the Beethoven Elementary School in 1993.

Chairman Hawkins, in your report, "100th Congress," you list Head Start as an example of a Federal program that works and should be expanded. I agree, and the CED report agrees. I believe its funding should be increased fivefold, so instead of having Head Start available to 18 percent of eligible children, it could be available to all eligible children.

Many of you have recognized the need for even more investment in young children and have already initiated important legislative responses. These include expanded preschool programs, expanded training opportunities for day care providers, programs that address adult illiteracy in conjunction with early childhood education and, of course, Comprehensive Child Development Centers. These are critically important beginnings.

Let me conclude with a story. Some people were having a picnic alongside a little river. As they started to eat, someone shouted, "Look, there is a child in the river and I don't think the child can swim." One of the men took off his shoes and socks and trousers and ran into the river and grabbed the child and brought him safely to the shore. He had hardly put him down when someone in the group shouted, "There is another child out in the river." He immediately turned tail, ran back to the river, fetched that child and brought the child to safety and started to put on his trousers and socks and shoes again.

At that point, someone said, "There is another child in the river." He said, "Someone else go get him," and continued to dress. Someone said, "What are you doing?" And he answered, "I'm going around the bend to find out who is throwing those children into the river."

The point is this, we know how to prevent school failure. What it takes now is the intelligence and the will to prevent these tragedies by investing in school success. I know we can do it, and the business community is very eager to help.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Harris and responses to questions submitted by Senator Kennedy follow:]

TESTIMONY
OF
IRVING B. HARRIS

PRESIDENT
THE OUNCE OF PREVENTION FUND
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

PRESIDENT
STANDARD SHARES, INC.
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

BEFORE THE

SENATE COMMITTEE
ON
LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES

AND

HOUSE COMMITTEE
ON
EDUCATION AND LABOR

SEPTEMBER 9, 1987

Chairman Kennedy, Chairman Hawkins, distinguished Members, may I thank you for this opportunity to address you. This is indeed a red letter day.

When the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources and the House Committee on Education and Labor and the leadership of American business as represented by the prestigious Committee for Economic Development all say together, "We've got a problem and together we're going to address that problem"... this is an exciting prospect.

Chairman Hawkins, Chairman Kennedy, you and the Members of your Committees have long recognized the importance of addressing the special needs of educationally and economically disadvantaged children. In fact, you may have wondered what took the business community so long to catch up. Sometimes, I ask myself the same question. Well, anyway here we are.

To start with, we all recognize that many poor children are not making it in school. What can we develop as a strategy for investing in school success for such disadvantaged children? We all recognize that education is the gate out of poverty. Unfortunately, too many children born into poverty are unable to get out, and if a child fails to make a success of school and is unable to join the job market, by my calculations, it is going

to cost $300,000 or more, on average, to take care of that child. We either invest in that child up front or pay much more later.

So whether you or I have a humane instinct and empathy for a child born into poverty is not material. Even if we hate kids, we should all understand that it is going to cost us all a lot of money down the line if we fail to see that every child is educated and equipped to become a participant in our economy and in our social system.

I have been interested in the problem of school dropouts for more than twenty years. While I start from an interest in preventing school dropouts, I found a parallel interest on the part of some very interesting people in my home state of Illinois.

- Governor Thompson is particularly interested in preventing infant mortality.
- Director Gordon Johnson, of the Department of Children and Family Services, is interested in preventing child abuse and neglect. He has had ninety thousand cases reported to him this year.
- Norval Morris, who is a former Dean of the Law School of the University of Chicago, is particularly interested in preventing lives of crime and prison.
- Dr. Ted Sanders, our Superintendent of Public Instruction, is interested particularly in problems of very young children who are handicapped or at risk of becoming handicapped.
- Ann Kiley, our Director of the Department of Mental Illness has a budget of $666 million annually, devoted

principally to care for profoundly retarded individuals. She knows that more than half of the individuals in her custody need not have been profoundly retarded, if they had benefitted from known prevention strategies.

The State of Illinois spends a huge amount of money for Medicaid, Public Aid, and programs to address drug and alcohol abuse. It is clear to me that all of these individuals and all these programs are handling one aspect or another in the life of the very same high risk children that we are talking about today. Without substantial assistance, starting very early, children born at high medical risk and high educational risk, are likely to fail in school and fail at living independent lives. Too often, when they turn 18, they find themselves out of school, out of work and out of the job market. Without requisite skills, they have little chance of participating in a labor force in which an education, rather than simply a strong back and willing hands, is required. We must provide the opportunity for these youngsters to become skilled workers and solid citizens. Education is the key. We must figure out how to invest in school success.

I'm not a farmer, but I know if you give me a handful of seed and I plant half of it off to the left and half to the right and in the area off to the left I make sure that those seeds are going to have sunlight and water and fertilizer, those seeds will grow well. On the other hand, if off to the right is little sun

and water and no fertilizer, the plants in that area will not grow as well. We all know that.

Similarly, if a child has a good start, nine months of nourishment in his mother's womb, assuming that his mother has benefited from good nutrition and avoids drugs, and alcohol, and smoking during her pregnancy, that baby will arrive on schedule nine months later, ready to take on the world. If a child on the other hand is born premature, weighing two to three pounds at birth, and if the mother has not taken care of herself, if she has used drugs, smoked a lot and not been careful, then that baby, if it lives, starts off life with two strikes against it. Premature children, when they are housed in a neonatal intensive care unit, cost something like $1,000 a day. They say "womb rent" is the cheapest rent.

The point is this; if a child is born healthy, given good nutrition, day in and day out and a lot of tender loving care, if he is read to and allowed to explore his world in secure surroundings, he will be ready for school success.

Child development specialists have learned a great deal about infant and toddler development, particularly in the last twenty years. A child can learn an enormous amount in his first few months and his first few years. Yet, the Department of Education says that in the coming school year, total expenditures

for education in this country on children from six up will amount to $308 billion. This is for elementary, secondary and higher education. How is it then, that we only spend a little over $1 billion dollars on Head Start plus perhaps another fraction in private money for those under six? Some $300 billion versus a few billion dollars at most is not a very smart ratio in view of all of our knowledge about how important those early days, months and years are to a child's healthy development.

We know that many of our poor children are not getting sufficient nurturing from their parents today, the nurturing they require day in and day out. Nutrition and nurturing don't work if they are given on an on-again, off-again basis. A child isn't well nourished if he has a feast on the first day of the month and then starves for the next twenty nine days. Nutrition and nurturing are required every day as you put it, Senator Kennedy, on an "early, continuous and comprehensive" basis.

Where children, for reasons associated with poverty and/or parent neglect, do not get a healthy start in life, we must through parent education, medical care and social support, systematically target all such children to be sure they will be ready for school and ready for life. That is the thrust of the Comprehensive Child Development Centers Act of 1987, S. 1542, sponsored by Senator Kennedy and unanimously reported by the Committee on Labor and Human Resources a few weeks ago. I

strongly support this legislative iniative. The bill recognizes the need for early investments by providing these early, continuous and comprehensive services to very poor children and their families. I refer you to the bill to see the range of services that different communities might consider while addressing these problems.

Our Beethoven program in Chicago is an example of such an early intervention project. Briefly, this project attempts to provide these kinds of services to all children born in six buildings in the Robert Taylor Homes housing project. Services that are not available to the entire population, or in some places, not available at all, begin with prenatal care to all mothers and continue straight through the children's entrance to kindergarten at the Beethoven Elementary School in 1993. The Beethoven project is one way to invest in school success.

Twenty-two years ago, with the creation of Head Start, Congress recognized the importance of early investments in school success. You all know the widely acclaimed results of this Head Start and of other early childhood education programs. Chairman Hawkins, in your report, Children in America: A Strategy for the 100th Congress, you list Head Start as an example of a federal program that works and should be expanded. I agree. I believe its funding should be increased by at least five fold, so instead

of having Head Start available to 18% of eligible children, it could be available to all eligible children.

Many of you have recognized the need for even more investments in young children and have already initiated important legislative responses. Some of the issues addressed in these initiatives include, but are not limited to, expanded opportunities for preschool programs, expanded training opportunities for day care providers, programs that address adult illiteracy in conjunction with early childhood education, and, of course Comprehensive Child Development Centers. These are critically important beginnings. We must all work together to ensure their success.

Let me conclude with a story. Some people were having a picnic along side a little river. As they started to eat, someone shouted, "Look, there is a child in the river and I don't think the child can swim." One of the men took off his shoes and socks and trousers and ran into the river and grabbed the child and brought him safely to the shore. He had hardly put him down when someone in the group shouted, "There is another child out in the river." He immediately turned tail, ran back to the river, fetched that child and brought that child to safety and started to put on his trousers and socks and shoes again. At that point someone said "There's another child in the river." He said, "Someone else go get him," and continued to dress, and someone

said, "What are you doing?", and he answered, "I'm going around the bend to find out who is throwing those children into the river."

The point this is - we know how to prevent school failure. What it takes now is the intelligence and the will to prevent these tragedies by investing in school success. I know we can do it, and the business community is very eager to help.

I look forward to Brad Butler's remarks about the absolutely first rate CED report. I had the distinct honor of serving on the subcommittee that produced this report and am proud to be associated with it.

Responses of Irving B. Harris to questions submitted
by Senator Kennedy

QUESTION - WHAT DOES THE OUNCE OF PREVENTION DO ?

The Ounce of Prevention Fund is an Illinois public/private corporation organized in 1982. Our corporation, Pittway, so far has supplied most of the private support, and various state agencies, led by the Department of Children and Family Services, provide most of the public support. The federal government through HHS has also participated. Out of a total of $30,000,000 spent since 1982, Pittway has invested over $2 million, the Harris Foundation $1 million, other corporations and foundations more than $1 million, and the State of Illinois more than $24 million. We fund 40 different community based organizations which in turn apply the principles of preventing to problems relating to family dysfunction, particularly with highly stressed families. We encourage healthy child development and try to prevent developmental delays in children. We also try to prevent teenage pregnancy by working with schools and adolescents as young as sixth grade, encouraging these youngsters to take charge of their lives, stay in school and plan for productive careers.

Our goal is to prevent mothers from bearing babies prematurely, risking infant mortality and later developmental delays, leading to repeated cycles of teenage pregnancy and unplanned parenthood. And we find that prenatal care and prevention not only result in healthier and happier children and families, but are also good for our pocketbooks.

For example, one of our 40 programs, the one at Cabrini-Green,

has reduced the number of low birth weight babies from the 44 born in 1982 to 14 born in 1986. Those 30 fewer births saved the people of Illinois an average of $9000 each just in the first year, or a one year total of $270,000. Add to that the later costs of pneumonias, blindness, cerebral palsy, profound retardation and many other long term disabilities frequently associated with low birth weight, and it's easy to demonstrate the cost effectiveness of prevention.

In business we're called on to make investments. Generally, if we can earn our investment back in ten years, that is considered a good par for the course. But some opportunities come along where we can recoup in savings the whole cost of the new investment in one year or less. We don't have to call on the financial geniuses in our company to decide on an investment like that. It's a no brainer. Many prevention programs are no-brainers. Good prenatal care and good nutrition are two excellent and simple examples where you get back your investment several times over within one or two years.

Most of our Ounce of Prevention programs work with mothers who are ready to accept help - who <u>will</u> come into a program. Our cost run about $1,000 per child per year for these programs.

But we know we're not bringing in many of the moms who are at

high risk but are hard to reach. They require much more effort, and that's what we're starting to do at Robert Taylor Homes with our "Beethoven Project".

While our costs per child will be higher, the eventual savings will be very great - because these moms and their infants are the most disadvantaged, the most at risk for medical disasters, the most at risk for later school failure and bringing down the level of educational achievement for all the kids in their school classes. Then they and their classmates are at risk of being unable to get jobs and hold jobs and then they spend the rest of their shortened lives on welfare or in prison, both of which are very expensive.

QUESTION 2 - IN YOUR STATEMENT, YOU FREQUENTLY REFER TO SCHOOL SUCCESS. ARE YOU IMPLYING THAT SOME CHILDREN ARRIVE AT KINDERGARTEN NOT READY TO LEARN ?

Absolutely ! Three years ago, the Superintendent of Schools in Minneapolis set up intramural matriculation examinations in an effort to improve schooling results. No student would be allowed to leave 9th grade until he could prove he was ready to do 10th grade work, the objective being to keep the next class of

students from being held back by slow learners.

He set up similar examinations for the students leaving the seventh, fifth, and second grades and kindergarten. Much to everyone's shock, 291 out of the 3,010 kindergarteners or roughly ten percent flunked kindergarten and were classified as "not ready" to enter first grade.

After I read this, I discussed it with a friend of mine who had taught kindergarten in Chicago public schools and in the affluent suburb of Highland Park. She estimated that in Chicago schools, the percentage of kids "not ready" was not ten percent, but more like 30 percent, whereas in Highland Park, the figure was probably one or two percent. Furthermore, she added, " I'm a skilled teacher. If I have one child who is "not ready" to learn out of my class of thirty students, I can handle that child and still not shortchange the rest of the class. But if I have 2 or 3 kids "not ready", there is no way I can avoid shortchanging the rest of the class." I was stunned and thought she must be exaggerating so I spoke with four other teachers independently, and they all said the same thing. The range of their estimates of children "not ready" ran from 6 to 15 <u>per class.</u> Not one said fewer than six kids out of 30 were "not ready".

Each of the five teachers also said that <u>all</u> the kids were being

shortchanged - not only in kindergarten, but also in first, second and third grades, and on and on.

Were they exaggerating? In the report entitled The Bottom Line, published in January 1985 by Designs for Change, I found that for DuSable High School, a typical inner city Chicago public high school, 70% of the students dropped out before graduation. Of the 30% who became seniors, only 6% could read at the 12th grade level. 6% of 30% = 1.8%. That means that 2 out of 100 children who started out as kindergartners twelve years later could read at the 12th grade level. 98 could not!!

And then last December in the Chicago Tribune, I read a report by our Chicago Board of Education that in 15 of the 58 public high schools in Chicago, 50% or more of the students still in high school flunked two or more courses. Can you imagine anything more disheartening than teaching a class where you know going in that at least half of the kids are going to flunk?

QUESTION 3 - What will be the most important factor if the Beethoven Project is to succeed?

Clearly, the most important factor if this extremely difficult and delicate project is to succeed, is developing a sense of cooperation and eagerness on the part of the community to embrace the opportunities which will be made available for them to obtain for their children - better medical care, professional help and counselling on child care, and overall an eagerness to work with new kinds of role models who offer hope, the prospect of good health and a sound education leading eventually to good jobs and a path to full participation in 21st Century Industrial America.

Senator SIMON. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Simon.

Senator SIMON. I regret that I cannot stay here but I want to, first of all, ask unanimous consent to insert a statement in the record. And I want to commend Irving Harris, who does happen to be from Illinois, and this distinguished panel for their leadership in this whole area.

We are judged as a society not by whether we pander to the whims of the rich and the powerful, but whether we really help people who have great needs, and they are prodding our conscience, and I commend them, and I hope we will respond as we should.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement of Senator Simon follows:]

STATEMENT OF SENATOR PAUL SIMON
JOINT HEARING OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES AND THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR ON EDUCATIONALLY AND ECONOMICALLY DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN
SEPTEMBER 9, 1987

MR. CHAIRMAN, TODAY I AM PLEASED TO JOIN YOU IN WELCOMING THE PRESTIGIOUS AND DEDICATED PANEL YOU HAVE INVITED HERE TO TESTIFY IN SUPPORT OF PROGRAMS FOCUSED ON THE EDUCATIONALLY AND ECONOMICALLY DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN OF OUR COUNTRY. I ALSO WANT TO COMMEND YOU ON YOUR CONTINUING LEADERSHIP AND WORK ON BEHALF OF THESE CHILDREN. I STRONGLY SUPPORT YOUR EFFORTS AND I LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING WITH YOU ON A NUMBER OF LEGISLATIVE INITIATIVES DESIGNED TO ELIMINATE SOME OF THE EDUCATIONAL OBSTACLES FACING TODAY'S CHILDREN.

I WOULD PARTICULARLY LIKE TO WELCOME A LONG-TIME FRIEND AND FELLOW ILLINOISAN, MR. IRVING HARRIS. MR. HARRIS IS A TRUE LEADER IN INNOVATIVE PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO HELP BREAK THE DROPOUT AND POVERTY CYCLE AMONG ECONOMICALLY DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN. IN HIS EFFORTS ON BEHALF OF CHILDREN, HE HOLDS A NUMBER OF TITLES. THESE INCLUDE THE PRESIDENT OF THE OUNCE OF PREVENTION FUND AND OF THE STANDARD SHARES, INC. IN CHICAGO, ILLINOIS. HE WAS ALSO A VALUABLE MEMBER OF MY TASK FORCE ON THE CHICAGO PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND CHAIRED A TASK FORCE SUBCOMMITTEE ON EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION.

MOST RECENTLY, MR. HARRIS IS KNOWN AS THE INSPIRATION BEHIND THE "CENTER FOR SUCCESSFUL CHILD DEVELOPMENT," BETTER KNOWN AS THE "BEETHOVEN PROJECT." THIS NEW, EXPERIMENTAL 5-YEAR PROJECT IS DESIGNED TO PREPARE CHILDREN, EVEN BEFORE THEY ARE BORN, TO ENTER KINDERGARTEN IN 1993. IT TARGETS EXPECTANT MOTHERS TO HELP THEM GET THEIR CHILDREN OFF TO A RIGHT START WITH COMPREHENSIVE PRENATAL AND INFANT CARE.

MR. CHAIRMAN, THE BEETHOVEN PROJECT IS ONE OF AT LEAST TEN PROJECTS NATIONWIDE ELIGIBLE FOR FUNDS THROUGH YOUR BILL, THE COMPREHENSIVE CHILD DEVELOPMENT CENTERS ACT, THAT WAS REPORTED OUT OF THIS COMMITTEE LAST MONTH. AS COSPONSOR OF YOUR BILL, I LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING WITH YOU TO SEE THAT IT IS PASSED IN THE SENATE.

I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO JOIN MY COLLEAGUES IN WELCOMING MR. OWEN B. BUTLER AND TO COMMEND HIM FOR HIS EXTRAORDINARY WORK ON THE NEW REPORT BY THE COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT (CED). THIS REPORT, "CHILDREN IN NEED: INVESTMENT STRATEGIES FOR THE

EDUCATIONALLY DISADVANTAGED," IS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT WORKS TO DATE THAT EMPHASIZES THE CORRELATION BETWEEN EARLY CHILDHOOD INTERVENTION AND EDUCATION AND THE SCHOLASTICAL ACHIEVEMENT OF STUDENTS IN LATER YEARS. WITH AN ESTIMATED 30% OF STUDENTS CONSIDERED EDUCATIONALLY DISADVANTAGED, **EARLY INTERVENTION IS CRITICAL TO IDENTIFYING AND ADDRESSING THEIR EDUCATION PROBLEMS** AND TO KEEPING THESE "AT RISK" CHILDREN IN SCHOOL. **POOR ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE IS THE BEST PREDICTOR OF WHO WILL EVENTUALLY DROP OUT OF SCHOOL.**

EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION AND PRESCHOOL PROGRAMS CAN AFFECT LONG-TERM DROPOUT RATES. IN THE 1960'S, THE PERRY PRESCHOOL PROJECT IN YPSILANTI, MICHIGAN, ENROLLED DISADVANTAGED 3-YEAR-OLDS IN PRESCHOOL. IN A FOLLOW-UP STUDY, THESE CHILDREN HAD LOWER DROPOUT RATES, AND FEWER ARRESTS AND TEEN PREGNANCIES. STUDIES HAVE ALSO SHOWN SIMILAR LONG-TERM COST SAVINGS FOR HANDICAPPED CHILDREN. A 1985 DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION STUDY REPORTED THAT "THE EARLIER INTERVENTION IS STARTED, THE GREATER IS THE ULTIMATE DOLLAR SAVINGS AND THE HIGHER IS THE EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF HANDICAPPED CHILDREN."

I AM IMPRESSED WITH THE CED REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS AND I LOOK FORWARD TO HEARING FROM MR. BUTLER TODAY, AS WELL AS THE OTHER PANELISTS.

The Chairman. Thank you very much, Senator Simon.

I just wanted to mention that I will give brief biographies of the witnesses so that the panel is familiar with all of its members.

Mr. Butler worked for Procter & Gamble for over 40 years, beginning as a salesman and retiring last year as chairman of the Board of Directors. He is a graduate of Dartmouth College and served in the U.S. Navy during World War II.

In his retirement years, Mr. Butler has been a tireless advocate of improving educational opportunities for America's school-age children.

Mr. Harris is a familiar figure for his long association and interest in these issues. As I mentioned, he is president of the Ounce of Prevention Fund, a public-private partnership between the State of Illinois and the Pitway Corp. Mr. Harris was instrumental in the creation of the Beethoven Project in the Robert Taylor homes housing project.

The members of our committee are very familiar with that, and Senator Simon's comments were well stated. We welcome his presence.

David Hamburg, our next witness, has been president of the Carnegie Corp. of New York since 1983. He has also been chairman of the Department of Psychiatry at Stanford University and the president of the National Academy of Sciences Institute of Medicine. He has written widely on the need for early intervention in the lives of disadvantaged children. He, like others, is a good friend to individuals on this committee, including myself, and we would like to hear from you.

Mr. HAMBURG. Thank you very much, Senator Kennedy.

It is a privilege to be back here. I do not think I ever testified on a subject quite as important as this one. I will put into the record a rather lengthy, but I hope substantial, statement that deals with the basic research on child health and child development that I believe is pertinent to this subject as well as the applied research.

It is my view that we are considering here the fundamental building blocks of development, the underpinnings of the entire life span. It is further my view that education does not start with elementary school, or even with kindergarten. Education starts with prenatal care, hopefully prenatal care in the first trimester, beginning with the education of the mother and the father about their offspring and the processes that will protect the child from damage early in life, and could make it very difficult for the child to learn later on.

There is so much current work that it is impossible to summarize it very effectively. For instance, immunization is attractive because it is a terribly effective measure. We have a lot of new research on immunizations, yet there is a real question whether we will make available to children everywhere what the new science and technology will make possible.

There is also a great deal of basic research in the child development field. Let me take one example, which is the research on attachment, the very first attachment between a baby and a care giver, typically the mother, but also other care givers. There is a great deal of experimental and longitudinal research showing that

a secure attachment made in the first year of life has a very considerable bearing on what happens in subsequent years.

A secure attachment has been demonstrated quite clearly to foster a kind of curiosity, an extraordinary capacity. The child then develops an effectiveness in dealing with people and the physical environment in the second, third, fourth and fifth years of life that opens the way to accomplishment in school and also to social skills that will be vital in later life.

This does not mean what happens in the first year is absolutely irrevocable or that the damage is typically irreparable. It is not; but there is a significant influence in the initial attachment. Therefore, particularly in disadvantaged communities but not exclusively, we really have to look at those first attachments. A good deal has been learned about the conditions for fostering attachment, and we need to reproduce those conditions wherever they do not presently exist.

Some of the most interesting information has come from longitudinal studies that run anywhere from a few years to 20 years.

Dr. Weikart has conducted one of them. Another one was conducted in Hawaii by Werner, called the Kauai study, which has told us a great deal. One of the intriguing lessons from that study came when she sorted out a group of children born into poverty, very adverse circumstances, who nevertheless came through exceedingly well. She was able to isolate certain factors that tend to protect children born into severe socially disadvantaged environments, and I will summarize that briefly in two observations:

One is individual attention in the first few years of life, and the other is readily available social networks like grandparents or teachers or friends or neighbors. Individual attention and supportive networks are key factors in offsetting the otherwise damaging effects that occur in very disadvantaged children.

Now, a word about research on intervention studies. Those in the mode of Headstart that Weikart has researched so well and, I am happy to say, that the Carnegie Corp. supported over the years are better known than some of the studies of a similar nature that came earlier. They range from prenatal care through about age 3. I suppose the most extensive case has to do with the Parent-Child Development Centers over a number of years, infancy to age 3, and the findings varied from one center to another. Nevertheless, these studies used multiple methods of measurement and showed evidence of benefits from all centers for families who were in the intervention as compared with the control groups.

Mothers in the intervention group showed better communication with their children, more sensitivity and emotional responsiveness to their children, more use of encouragement with their children, were more ready to provide information when talking with their children; and for their part, the intervention children scored higher on intelligence tests, showed more adequate social behavior, and had more positive interactions with their mothers.

There are similar findings from the next wave of studies which was the Child and Family Resource Program. There is not time to go into them, but the general gist was similar, particularly in the effects on mothers of raising self-esteem, enhancing coping skills

and enhancing the ability of young families to take advantage of resources that existed in their community.

Now, we have seen in the past decade or so a great upsurge in demand for parent education and for construction of social support networks for young parents, and not just poor parents, but middle-class parents—reaching out to develop the competence they need to become adequate parents. And that growth in demand tells us something about the need out there.

Many of those innovations have not been adequately evaluated but some have, and the general thrust indicates that they are useful in facilitating the development of both parent and child, also in building social networks for young parents and providing information of a practical kind about using community resources.

So we can say that altogether there is a sweep of evidence that is greatly strengthened in the past 5 or 6 years to the effect that there are many useful interventions to be made. Yet, we are in some respects lacking the institutional support for individuals who are willing and able to help young children and young parents on how to do that. Our foundation has supported in recent years the Congress of National Black Churches which has shown a great deal of ingenuity whereby churches are extending their traditional functions similarly, a number of institutions in the society from the business community to churches to schools to universities can provide support for individuals who are ready and willing to help young children.

Let me conclude by saying that the task before us is first to digest what the scientific community is telling us it is possible to do, and then to address the institutional mechanisms that can translate that knowledge into action.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Hamburg and response to a question submitted by Senator Kennedy follows:]

EARLY INTERVENTION TO PREVENT LIFELONG DAMAGE: LESSONS FROM CURRENT RESEARCH

Testimony for the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources and the House Committee on Education and Labor

David A. Hamburg, M.D.
President
Carnegie Corporation of New York

September 9, 1987

INTRODUCTION

It is a privilege to meet with you again. I have followed the work of these committees with great respect over many years. You address constructively the most critical issues before the nation: how we can have vigorous, healthy, bright, well-informed, open-minded, adaptable people.

It was my privilege to meet with the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources and its subcommittees on a number of occasions during my term as President of the Institute of Medicine, National Academy of Sciences, 1975-1980. Although I testified on life and death matters of great significance to the nation--and indeed to the health of the entire world--I never testified on a subject quite so crucial as this one today. In this hearing, the committees are providing national leadership on a problem of profound significance for our nation's future. These are the fundamental building blocks of healthy development. We are searching for ways to prevent the heavy casualties we are now taking in early life, the avoidable destruction of young lives on such a scale that the nation is becoming deeply concerned. So the issue being addressed by the committees today goes to the heart of our future as a people.

About 10 million children die each year worldwide of preventable diseases. It is as though a jumbo jet carrying several hundred children crashed several times each hour

throughout the year. In the U.S., there are still formidable losses--not so much in early death as in long-term disability, burdens of illness, ignorance, and wasted lives. But early, preventable deaths, too. By a conservative estimate, it is as if one plane--if not a 747 than a 727--full of children crashed every day in Central Park or on the White House lawn.

WHAT IS THE PROBLEM?

During the past two decades, a good deal of attention has gone into innovation and research on interventions during the first few years of life, primarily with respect to children raised in poverty. At the same time, rapid social changes have led to a good deal of concern about the conditions under which young children are raised even in the more affluent sectors of society. Here too, innovation and research have been occurring.

Observations of many teachers, physicians, journalists, school administrators, as well as behavioral and social scientists have documented the extent to which children in high poverty concentration areas enter school with a legacy of prior impairment in biological, psychological and social development. The families of such children, especially their mothers, have formidable vulnerabilities that increase the risk of various health problems for these children from an early point in life: e.g., low birth weight, neonatal damage, malnutrition, untreated childhood illness, uncorrected early problems of hearing and vision. Moreover, these children are exposed to an extraordinarily high degree of stress in the social environment on a continuing, long term basis. They grow up in disorganized and very poor neighborhoods, often with socially isolated, very young and very poor mothers--all too often without fathers and with minimal support from other family members or friends. From the time they enter school, they are often observed to be

underdeveloped in their social skills, emotionally troubled, linguistically and cognitively well behind their peers who come from more fortunate circumstances. By the third grade, many of them are found to be unsuitable for the science education that could equip them for even moderately technical occupations later in life.

In the important work of Comer in New Haven, involving such children in kindergarten up to the fourth grade, he identified several major indicators of serious difficulty at this early stage of the school career: low achievement in reading and mathematics; poor attendance in school; severe behavior problems. They are therefore in a very weak position to cope with school as presently constituted.

Observations of this kind in the 1960's and the 1970's stimulated Head Start and similar activities in an effort to prevent serious damage to children in the early years of their lives and give them a decent chance to do well in school. But even earlier, particularly in the 1940's and the 1950's, a variety of observations and some systematic studies pointed in the same direction. Several studies showed marked intellectual impairment in children reared in institutions that provided little cognitive or interpersonal stimulation in the early years of life. Related studies showed cognitive gains in children transferred from such impoverished institutions to more adequate ones. Similar but more sophisticated studies in the 1970\s have had similar results.

There is ample reason to be concerned about the adverse effects on child development of relatively extreme conditions of the social environment such as high poverty concentration and massive social depreciation as well as severe community disintegration. But what of less severe conditions, particularly with respect to the exceedingly rapid social changes of the past two decades?

Certainly there have been extraordinary social changes directly affecting the family in the past two decades. For example, the divorce rate more than doubled between 1966 and 1980. Indeed, a whole series of major changes have been documented in the decade between 1970 to 1980. Not only were divorces up sharply but so too were the number of unmarried couples, the percent of persons living alone, and families in which both husband and wife are working. The percent of children living with one parent went up sharply in that decade while the percent of children living with two parents came down substantially. This set of changes, amply documented in census and other statistics, has a very direct and presumably strong bearing on the experiences of young children growing up. At the very least, it seems doubtful that fully effective adaptations could have been made in such a short time. Even if such changes may hold long term promise of a pluralistic nature, the short term strains have been formidable. Unfortunately, the amount of systematic and detailed research of high quality that could

document subtle and complex effects on child development is not sufficient to reach definitive conclusions. But it should be noted that these changes are ones that challenge long-established modes of attachment between parent and child. Therefore, they draw our attention to the recent body of research on attachment in early life. This body of research in any event is highly pertinent to the circumstances of growing up in severe poverty and social disadvantage; but it also bears on fundamental attributes of human relationships that shape the whole life-span and may have significance for a wider range for social conditions than those of poverty.

BUILDING BLOCKS OF HEALTHY DEVELOPMENT IN THE FIRST FEW YEARS OF LIFE

Development of the human infant starts at conception, although the nature and extent of a child's vulnerability to environmental influences derive in part from factors present before conception: the mother's age, general health and nutritional status, education, lifestyle and habits, and the socioeconomic circumstances of both father and mother. Early, high-quality prenatal care for pregnant women is essential for ensuring healthy development in children. The failure to take preventive measures long before a child is born is reflected in infant mortality rates and in babies born too soon or too small, and subject to many health and development problems.

Most organ development takes place in the first eight weeks after conception. This is a time when drugs, alcohol, cigarettes, or other toxic substances can cause irreversible damage to the organs, including the central nervous system. For example, transmission of human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) from an infected mother to her infant probably occurs during pregnancy or delivery, but the nature of maternal-infant transmission is not known. The provision of simple, inexpensive means of early detection of pregnancy, together with meaningful education, so that prospective mothers can maintain adequate nutrition, hydration, and self-care, would go a long way toward preventing some of the worst harms to fetal development.

Women who reduce or stop smoking during pregnancy, for example, improve the birthweight of their babies. In view of the rising number of women smokers and the promise of smoking cessation interventions, vigorous efforts are in order to enlist health practitioners in anti-smoking efforts and to make such efforts a routine part of medical and obstetrical care.

Lack of adequate nutrition, especially during pregnancy, has many ramifications. Prevention of nutrition-related problems, such as Vitamin A deficiency, can be assured through nutritional supplements, primary health care, and education. The federal supplemental food program for women, infants, and children (WIC) has been one of the most cost-effective programs in the United States. A study conducted by the Harvard School

of Public Health showed that for every dollar ($1) that is invested in the program, three dollars ($3) is later saved in medical costs. A recent (1985) evaluation of the WIC program by the U.S. Department of Agriculture found, for example, that the program reduced the fetal death rate by almost a third; reduced by 15-25 percent the number of premature births among high-risk mothers; improved the likelihood that children will have a regular source of medical care and be better immunized; and improved the cognitive development of children.

After birth, the most effective and cost effective preventive measure is immunization against the common infections of childhood and their sometimes disabling complications. Great progress has been made on this front, especially with childhood diseases such as diphtheria, whooping cough, tetanus, poliomyelitis, measles, mumps, German measles, and now chicken pox. Yet large numbers of preschool children are not adequately vaccinated against the preventable infections of childhood. These children provide a susceptible reservoir for an epidemic should the infectious agent be introduced. Current scientific advances in immunology as well as molecular and cellular biology make it clear that additional vaccines will become available in the foreseeable future.

The essential desiderata for parent behavior in the first five years of life may well be relatively simple in concept, though more complicated in day-to-day application. There are

perhaps four basic orientations: 1) a loving parent, cherishing the life of the child and making a patient investment in the child's future; 2) an enjoying parent, finding focal points for interaction with the child that provide mutual satisfaction; 3) a teaching parent who understands enough about child development to interact constructively with the child, to become skillful as a mentor, and to sharpen the child's skills gradually as the child's capacity evolves; 4) a coping parent who knows how to seek help to develop skills for getting through the inevitable vicissitudes of life. The scientific and scholarly community has something reliable to say about all of these orientations. But the actual daily application of the scientific principles involved will call in practical ways upon the individual strength and social support network of the particular parents. Indeed, it is sensible to find ways to connect the knowledge generated by the scientific and scholarly community with the social support network of particular parent groups.

Children differ in their initial attachments to another human being, ordinarily the mother. Careful, systematic studies have characterized various patterns of early attachment during the first year of life. Indeed, a great deal of experimental and longitudinal research has been stimulated in the past decade by Bowlby's ground-breaking work on human attachment. When tested experimentally in a standardized strange situation involving mother and baby, it is possible to distinguish securely and insecurely attached one year old infants.

Many direct observational studies have accumulated evidence that secure attachment is fostered by attentive, loving, and contingently paced interactions between mother and child. During the first year of life, such mothers pay consistently close attention to their infants, are responsive to signs of distress, and as the infants get older, are supportive of independent play. They are emotionally expressive toward their babies, responding especially to the baby's smiles and to evidence of distress. They pace their actions slowly and gently, changing in accordance with cues given by the infant's behavior. They are playful with their babies and allow the baby time to respond. They are rarely silent or unsmiling. These are some of the observable elements of interaction between mother and child during infancy that contribute to a secure attachment. Once established, such a secure attachment provides a base from which the child can increasingly explore the environment, including its social as well as physical aspects.

There is growing evidence of long-term effects of the first attachments on later behavior. Infants who are rated as securely attached when observed in the strange situation test at one year or eighteen months, later are independently observed to be more sociable and more skillful with peers. Studies of preschool children show clearly that those with secure attachments do better than those with insecure attachments. Even toddlers at two years of age have been shown to differ in

this regard: they behave more positively to peers, show more interest in engaging them in play, are rated as more sociable by observers in respect not only to peers but to their mothers. They also appear to teachers to be more mature in their initial school experiences. They explore new spaces more independently and thoroughly than do children who are rated as insecurely attached at one year of age. Thus, several years after the initial establishment of secure or insecure attachment, independent observations show that children who have had the benefit of a secure attachment in the first year of life are more curious, exploratory, and effective both in relation to social and physical aspects of their later environments. A kind of friendly and trusting curiosity seems to guide their behavior. This in turn gives them the basis for developing cognitive and social skills in later years.

Another crucial underpinning for development occurs in the second year of life when the child's language begins to spurt. At that time, lively interactions with mother and other caretakers are of great importance: talking to the child, reading to the child, playing games, interacting around varied and interesting toys, encouraging ever widening explorations that are consistent with safety--all these contribute much in the second year and beyond to the development of cognitive and social skills.

Children raised in very poor, disorganized and socially depreciated circumstances are likely to miss out on some of

these vital interactions in the first and second years of life, interactions that lay the foundation for much accomplishment in subsequent development. Nevertheless, there is abundant evidence that children with poor early relationships can recover later if the environment improves. Still, these early experiences tend to put children on different developmental pathways. The paths are not totally separate nor do they go in altogether different directions, but they tend on the average to be associated with different outcomes. The quality of human relationships in the first two or three years of life has a bearing on later development.

Child development research in the framework of attachment has recently cast light on potential interventions--i.e. applications of the basic research. Short-term longitudinal studies, spanning several years, around questions of parent-child attachment have been especially stimulating. The central question is whether different patterns of attachment in the first year of life are associated with the different outcomes in the development of social behavior and perhaps cognitive function as well; if so, intervention can simulate the favorable conditions. The ground-breaking research of Ainsworth has shown that the most significant precursors of secure early attachment, as contrasted with insecure attachment, are certain patterns of early interaction between child and caregiver. What is needed early in life appears to consist essentially of an

emotionally positive context in which the caregiver is dependable, responds in a contingent way to signals given by the infant, facilitates and cooperates with the infant rather than interfering with the infant's ongoing behavior.

Although the earlier studies and indeed most of the recent longitudinal studies have involved stable, middle-class families, there has been recent work on disadvantaged families and the results are much the same. Early attachment is connected to later social competence in disadvantaged families as well as advantaged ones. The securely attached infants at 1 year get on better with their preschool teachers at age 4 1/2, for example. Similarly, securely attached children from high-risk families have stronger self control than do insecurely attached peers in preschool experience. Thus, early secure attachment, regardless of social class, tends to set the child on a path toward positive experience and valued accomplishments. It changes probabilities for later developmental opportunities.

On the negative side, recent research in both disadvantaged and relatively affluent families has shown that insecure attachment in infancy is predictive of later behavior problems in early and middle childhood. These include the violent use of toys, physical aggression, verbal threat--behavior patterns that tend to interfere with subsequent relationships and put educational accomplishment at risk. Also, in preschool, they are more likely than securely attached infants to be emotionally

upset, to cry, and to leave the classroom precipitously. These relationships hold even when the peer experience prior to preschool is controlled. In general, children who are insecurely attached at ages 12 to 18 months are more likely than securely attached children to develop behavior problems in school. They tend to be less capable of independent action, less empathic, less socially competent, more emotionally troubled, and lower in self-esteem than children who have been securely attached in infancy. They tend to be described by preschool teachers as hostile and socially isolated from their peers. Altogether, research on attachment has progressed to a point where a variety of reliable measures can predict links between the security of infant-parent attachment and later social competence, emotional distress, functioning in school, and prosocial behavior.

This work can be related to another body of inquiry dealing with the effects of the family on the development of prosocial behavior. In this work, both direct family observations and experimental studies have examined the effects of a model on later prosocial or antisocial behavior. The results are clear. Children exposed to such models, when compared to similar children in control groups, tend to show the behavior manifested by the models: whether it be honesty, generosity, helping or rescuing behavior.

Many laboratory and clinical studies of social learning indicate that certain factors enhance the impact of a model for

the child: 1) the adult's power; 2) the adult's perceived competence; 3) the adult's long-term nurturance of the child. All this puts securely attached children in a strong position to adopt salient patterns of behavior through observational learning of their parents and other family members. That is, the combination of early attachment plus abundant modeling over the years of growth and development can lead to prosocial behavior that becomes firmly established and may be highly adaptive. The prosocial behavior is particularly significant in adaptation because it is likely to open up new opportunities for the growing child, strengthen additional human relationships, and contribute to the building of self-esteem.

In the context of secure attachment and valued adult models--provided by either a cohesive family or a more extended social support network--certain norms are established early in life in the context of a modicum of warmth and trust: 1) taking turns; 2) sharing with others; 3) cooperating, especially in learning and problem solving; 4) helping others, especially in times of stress. These norms, though established on a simple basis in the first few years of life, open the way to much more complex and beneficial human relationships that have significance throughout the life-span. They tend to earn respect, provide gratification, and amplify the effectiveness of anything the individual could do alone. Therefore, as a practical matter, it appears that early intervention programs

need to take account of the factors that influence the development of attachment and prosocial behavior.

COPING WITH RISK IN EARLY INTELLECTUAL AND PSYCHOSOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

One important source of insight into this problem area comes from longitudinal studies. Quite recently, there have been well documented reports from several short-term longitudinal studies (spanning a few years); and also some new analyses of long-term longitudinal studies (spanning up to two decades). One of the most valuable of these latter is the report of Werner's longitudinal study of perinatal risk in Hawaii. This Kauai longitudinal study examined the joint influences of reproductive risk and quality of the caretaking environment of a multiracial cohort of children from the prenatal period to young adulthood. It involved careful, systematic collection and analysis of data, examining the vulnerability of these children and also their resiliency in the face of a formidable range of biological and psychosocial risk factors. These observations provide exceptional insight into the capacity of children to cope with perinatal stress, poverty, and family instability. They also identify protective factors in the child and in the caregiving environment.

The study was conducted on a small island with many assets. The medical, public health, education, and mental health services compare favorably with most communities of

similar size throughout the United States. Given these favorable conditions, it is striking to observe the scope of the casualties during the first two decades of life. About one of every three children in this birth cohort had a learning problem or behavior problem of practical significance during the first decade of life. About one of every five young people had serious mental health problems or manifest delinquency in the second decade of life. The majority of these troubled adolescents had multiple problems. Many of them lived in chronic poverty or in a persistently disorganized family environment. These latter conditions clearly affected the perinatal and psychosocial risk factors that could be detected even in the prenatal period.

Among the many interesting observations in this long-term study, some of the most stimulating are those of resilient children in chronic poverty. There were 72 children in this category, each of whom had 4 or more cumulative risk factors before age 2. When last studied at age 18, none had experienced any serious learning or behavior disorders nor had required any mental health services up to that point. The key factors in their early caregiving environment may provide clues that could help other children in poverty cope with the adversity of their circumstances. One of the favorable factors was that the number of children in the family were no more than four--i.e. relatively small families. Another was that the spacing between

the index child and the next sibling was more than two years. Another was that alternate caretakers were available to the mother within the household--e.g. the child's father or grandparents or older siblings. Another favorable factor was the amount of attention given to the child by the primary caretakers in infancy. Another was the availability of a sibling either as a caretaker or as a confidant in childhood. Another was the presence of an informal multi-generational network of relatives, friends, and other interested people--neighbors, teachers, clergymen. These latter were supportive and available in time of stress. Taken together, these protective factors in the early caregiving environment may perhaps be legitimately summarized in two overriding categories: individual attention in the early years; and a readily available social support network.

Considerable scientific work in recent years has probed the nature of the processes in poor, socially disadvantaged families that tend to have the most significant positive and negative effects on child development. For example, Ramey and colleagues at the University of North Carolina point to a powerful cluster of factors noted in their studies of severely disadvantaged mothers: an extreme sense that the locus of control in life is outside oneself, that one has little capacity to shape the events of greatest personal significance; low self-esteem; little perception of opportunity. When these orientations come

together during a child's infancy, the observable quality of the caretaking environment is likely to be inadequate and not conducive to healthy child development. Children in such circumstances are most at risk for retarded intellectual development and adaptive behavior. They are likely to develop educational handicaps during the public school years.

Nevertheless, within such families--as well as more commonly in more advantaged families--they have observed certain modes of interaction between mother and child that tend to foster healthy child development. The general thrust of this work tends to show that the mother's responsiveness can strengthen the child's sense of efficacy and thereby open doors that would otherwise by closed in child development. For instance, several experiments indicate that response-contingent stimulation during the first year of life tends to enhance later learning capabilities when these infants are compared to controls. Similarly, studies have focused on social responsiveness to some of the main behaviors that infants produce, especially smiling and vocalizing. When caretakers are highly responsive to these infant-generated behavior patterns, the infants tend to respond positively.

A particularly informative kind of study involves variations in parenting behavior within disadvantaged mother-child pairs. Several investigators have reported positive correlations of sizeable magnitude linking: 1) the

caretaker's joyful stimulation of and interaction with the infant as well as the caretaker's sensitive response to signals given by the infant; with 2) the child's cognitive development during the first 3 years of life.

Broadly speaking, the same developmental influences predict child intellectual outcome in families of different social classes. We are reaching a point in research on child development where knowledge of fundamental mechanisms may be sufficient to offset some of the worst effects of poverty and social depreciation. Research within poor communities, as well as across social classes, has clarified some of the main factors that determine whether a child can develop successfully with respect to accomplishment in education and constructive human relationships.

INTERVENTIONS TO FOSTER CHILD DEVELOPMENT: PRESCHOOL EDUCATION

Basic research on child development contributed to the formulation of Head Start and similar intervention efforts. Then, long-term follow-up studies assessed the effects of such interventions.

Quality programs in the 4-5 year age range have strong potential for diminishing a variety of later academic, health, and social problems. Over 20 years, the convergence of evidence from a variety of longitudinal studies, including Head Start

evaluations, is highly significant. Benefits to society at large are improved educational achievement, reduced crime and delinquency, improved productivity of the labor force, reduced welfare dependency, and better health status of the population.

When Head Start began two decades ago, research projects were initiated to test the basic assumptions of the program. Does early education make a difference in the lives of children, the family, and the community? If so, how long do such effects last? What aspects of development do they affect?

Stimulating information on long-term effects of preschool education comes from the High/Scope Educational Research Foundation of Ypsilanti, Michigan, which has followed the preschool "graduates" through the first twenty years of their lives. Begun in Ypsilanti in 1962, the Perry Preschool Study selected children who were born poor and black and apparently destined for school failure and a bleak future. Of the families in the study, 50 percent received welfare assistance; 47 percent were headed by single parents; only 21 percent of the mothers and 11 percent of the fathers had graduated from high school.

Of the 123 children in the study, about half were randomly selected to serve as an experimental group and attend preschool. The other half did not attend preschool. These 123 young people have participated in the Perry Preschool follow-up study for two decades. The results clearly indicate that high-quality early childhood education can constructively alter the life course of the participating individuals.

Several studies suggest that preschool education provides a useful setting for early intervention needed to foster disease prevention. For example, many programs usefully offer developmental screening and immunizations against infectious diseases.

Students who have been in early education programs have shown better achievement scores in elementary school, are less likely to be classified as needing special education, have higher rates of high school completion and college attendance, lower pregnancy and crime rates than comparable students who were not in preschool programs. The confluence of evidence from a number of studies--High/Scope, Brookline, the most recent Head Start evaluations, and a review of a consortium of longitudinal projects--all support the value of preschool education. This convergence of evidence is highly significant. The main problem now is how to make such education more widely available. This could be done in a variety of ways, for example, through expansion of the Head Start program, through inclusion of educational curricula in child care settings, through school systems making preschool education available, or through parent support programs. We deal only briefly with this topic here because it has had much attention in the past few years. The potential of such interventions is more widely appreciated than those of the earlier years of life. Nevertheless, much remains to be done in fulfilling the recognized potential of preschool education.

We now turn to earlier interventions. Can the kind of process that led to the development of high quality preschool education lead also to effective interventions that prevent damage to children in the first three years of life? Some basic research pertinent to this question has already been sketched. Now we consider applied research bearing directly on preventive intervention.

EARLY INTERVENTION TO FOSTER PARENTAL COMPETENCE AND CHILD DEVELOPMENT

Is there a research basis for believing that improvement of environmental conditions in the early years may have a beneficial effect on the long-term course of child development? In fact, there is a research tradition going back into the 1940s that throws light on this fundamental issue. The well known study by Skeels and associates, published in the 1940s, shows that children born to mothers of below average measured intelligence when adopted in homes of people with higher measured intelligence, showed considerable gains, not only in measured intelligence but in educational accomplishment. More recent studies in a similar vein showed similar results. The most recent of these involved children of unskilled workers who were abandoned at birth and adopted by families of strong professional achievement and high

socioeconomic status. The adopted children were later compared systematically with their biological half siblings who had been reared by the biological parents, and also with the children of unskilled workers in the general population, as well as children of comparable age from upper middle class families. The results clearly showed the environmental enhancement of measured intelligence through the adoption of children from a socially disadvantaged background into a more favorable social environment. Although such studies are difficult to conduct and have many limitations, the convergence of findings clearly indicates that measured intelligence and educational accomplishment can be favorably affected by a major change of environment away from social disadvantage.

The well known Milwaukee project is instructive in this context. It focused on socially disadvantaged children whose mothers had an IQ ranging from 50-75. They were divided into an intervention group and untreated controls. They have been followed from infancy to the fourth grade of elementary school. The mothers were given home management and job training as well as remedial education. However, there was little direct effort to improve their parenting skills. The children participated in a structured educational program from infancy until 6 years of age. These activities centered on the development of skills in language and problem solving. The children in the intervention group showed greater measured intelligence and educational

accomplishment than those in the untreated control group. In essence, the results indicate that a sustained and extensive intervention during the preschool years can produce important cognitive gains and probably interpersonal gains as well.

A similar program, the Abecedarian project in North Carolina, has recently been designated by the American Psychological Association as an outstanding one pertinent to disease prevention and health promotion. It started in infancy and provided year-round daily care during the preschool years, emphasizing the development of language and adaptive social behavior. It was well organized and systematic in its educational activities. However, it did not include direct work with parents and indeed parental involvement was minimal. Parents were seriously socially disadvantaged, mostly black. These were mainly female-headed households. The children were randomly assigned to experimental and control groups and were followed to 5 years of age or nearly so. Beginning at about 18 months of age, differences in measured intelligence emerged, favoring the intervention group. These children also adapted better to new situations, showed more adequate use of language, and dealt with task demands more effectively than the controls. Remarkably, despite limited parental involvement, there were signs of benefit for the mothers of the intervention group. At follow-up they showed more education and less unemployment than the control group mothers. Altogether, the children showed substantial benefits in cognitive and social functions.

This brings us to programs that have concentrated their effort on the parents more than on their children. A prominent effort here was the nationwide set of Parent-Child Development Centers (PCDC). These were stimulated in part by Head Start. They included an extensive curriculum for mothers of low income families, involving information on childrearing and home management as well as family support. Concomitantly, there was preschool education for the children. The family involvement went from the time of infancy to age 3. There was random assignment to intervention and control groups, and a carefully designed evaluation utilizing multiple methods of measurement. Since each center had considerable latitude in the design of its intervention, it is not surprising that the results varied from one center to another. Nevertheless, there is reasonable evidence of benefits from all centers for families who were in the intervention as compared with the control groups. Mothers in the intervention groups showed gains in several areas: 1) communication with their children; 2) sensitivity and emotional responsiveness to their children; 3) the use of encouragement with their children; and 4) the provision of information when talking with their children. For their part, the intervention children scored higher on intelligence tests, showed more adequate social behavior, and more positive interactions with their mothers. A net assessment of the various centers across the country in PCDC indicates that there were beneficial effects

in the first few years of life from this program. Unfortunately, a shortage of federal funding consigned it to oblivion prematurely. Nevertheless, its influence continues to be felt throughout the country in the developments that have occurred since then.

There were a number of interesting features of the PCDC effort that may well prove to be stimulating and useful for renewed efforts in the foreseeable future. For one thing, there was a deliberate effort to involve different kinds of low-income families: white, Hispanic, and black families. For another, the experiment was carefully conceived and given a long time frame for its work. The intervention was from birth to 3 years of age, thus in effect filling the gap from prenatal care to Head Start. Each site was given latitude to reflect the distinctive characteristics of its location. There was a plan to replicate the initial results and then to disseminate on a wide scale with careful consideration of evaluation and adaptation at the appropriate stages. The programs were designed to take a comprehensive view of the problems of poor families, including education, health, nutrition, and the social environment. The intervention was managed by university-based scientists and scholars in each community. They worked closely with community members. Each center had a parent advisory council. Altogether, it was an intensive intervention addressing serious problems in a deliberate, thoughtful and

sustained way. If the nation had been ready to provide support to follow through on the initial plans, we would probably be in a much better position today than we are now.

Very likely, the most important finding of the PCDC studies was the effect on interaction between mother and child. Despite local variations, it is clear that the mothers' behavior became more positive toward their children in respect to affection, praise, the appropriateness of restraint, and the encouragement of language development. There is ample reason here to believe that even poor and seriously disadvantaged mothers can respond in terms of mother-child interaction when they get a modicum of parent education and social support.

In some ways, the successor to PCDC was the Child and Family Resource Program (CFRP). It was the last of the prominent early childhood demonstrations supported by the federal government as an outgrowth of the innovations of the 1960s. It was intended to be a multi-site demonstration of a comprehensive family support model. It was idealistic in conception and influenced by Head Start. At its core was a home visiting program to be conducted by lay-visitors for families with infants from birth to age 3--related to complementary center-based activities. An interesting concept was that the program would provide a continuum with Head Start so that participating children would be linked with a preschool education experience and they in turn would be linked with a

transition from preschool to elementary school. The idea was to help with the transition from one to another and to build cumulative strengths. How far this concept was actually implemented is in some doubt.

The program was influenced not only by Head Start but by the neighborhood health centers of the 1960s and similar multi-function neighborhood facilities. It was committed to parent involvement and community action pertaining to the well-being of families. It also connected with the early childhood movement most vividly exemplified by the Brookline Early Education project. It got underway in 1973 and funded a variety of programs across the country. It allowed considerable local variation; so the frequency, focus, and content of home visits was considerably different in different locations. In most sites, the home visitors were responsible both for parent education and for child development activities. It may well be that the task of the home visitor was formulated in unrealistic terms, simply too much to do, too wide a range of responsibilities to cover on a practical basis.

A systematic assessment of the program was undertaken, at least in the infant-toddler component. The sample size was larger than is usually the case in such studies. The people involved were from low-income communities, mostly white and black with only a small Hispanic component. Various outcome measures were used, bearing upon the behavior of both children

and parents. There was much sample attrition during the three year data collection.

Despite all these difficulties, there were results showing benefits of the intervention. These benefits were concentrated in the adults rather than the children--perhaps not surprising in view of the fact that the great bulk of the effort was focused on the adults. The intervention families made more use of community resources, felt a greater ability to control their own lives, higher self-esteem, and enhanced coping skills. They were more likely to be employed or in job training or both. There was also a modest effect on the teaching skills of the parents in relation to their children. But the direct measurement of children's behavior showed no appreciable change.

Further analysis is interesting in that it showed some elements of the program that were particularly associated with beneficial effects on the families. One was a high level of program participation. Another was high coping skills at the start of the program. Both of these contributed to greater effects on parental teaching skills. The originally planned shift in focus of the intervention from adult to child never in fact occurred. The time devoted to child development during home visits did not increase significantly in the course of the intervention program. Moreover, the evaluation showed that the child development activities were excessively focused on talking

and did not include very much modeling, demonstration, and joint activity with the child. In light of research on social learning, these deficiencies were quite serious. This highlights the need to connect two bodies of knowledge in order to make these programs more effective: child development and social learning. In addition, biomedical research on child health is highly pertinent.

Looking back over the whole sweep of the PCDC and CRFP interventions, it is reasonably clear that their strongest effects occurred in whatever arena they committed their major concentration of effort. In the case of PCDC, this was in parents' child-rearing skills. In the case of CRFP, this was in the personal development of the parents. Another general point of practical significance: more beneficial effects occurred, both with respect to parenting skill and child development, with the more intensive interventions that included professional as well as well as paraprofessional involvement.

It is clear now that the early tendency in this area of research to focus exclusively on cognitive outcomes is not adequate to the task. Not only intellectual functions but motivational, emotional, attitudinal and social functions are also profoundly important for developmental outcomes that are socially valued. The Yale child welfare research program is interesting in this context. It squarely focused on seriously disadvantaged families. Through home visitors, regular medical

care and an optional day care program as well as regular developmental assessments, it provided services from birth to 30 months of age, and then a follow-up evaluation when the children were 7 or 8 years old. These interventions in infancy had a long-term impact on intellectual and academic development. The children in the intervention program not only had higher measured intelligence but also more persistent school attendance and higher school achievement. Particularly striking was the effect on the families. At the time of the follow-up they were doing better in respect to educational status, economic self-sufficiency, housing and the general quality of life. Altogether, the research and experience in this field indicates that there are many useful interventions that can be made in the first few years of life.

PARENT EDUCATION, SOCIAL SUPPORT NETWORKS, AND COMMUNITY-BASED EARLY INTERVENTIONS

Over several decades, it has become apparent that many young parents feel the need to educate themselves to develop competence in being a parent. Presumably the growth in the demand for parent education has been influenced by the erosion of the traditional extended family and the lack of associated guidance from experienced parents. In addition, the growing respect for expert professionals with a widespread acceptance of

the contributions of modern science has added to the belief that young parents could draw upon a body of knowledge for guidance in becoming adequate parents.

There has been a dramatic growth spurt in the demand for such services in the past two decades. To some degree, this field has moved beyond its relatively affluent origins to include a wider range of young parents. The growing demand has been reflected in widespread interests in such materials as the Systematic Training for Effective Parenting curriculum (STEP), and for the guide book designed for supervisors of the parent-to-parent program of the High/Scope group. Those involved in this field indicate that the widening scope of parent education has been enhanced by rising divorce rates, the spread of single parent families, the surge of adolescent pregnancies, and the broad movement of women into the labor market. Thus, a great many parents are seeking guidance as to how they can responsibly meet the needs of their children in conjunction with their own needs.

Although middle class parents can pay for such services, and relate it to the higher education they have already achieved, there is more difficulty about reaching low-income families and indeed their needs are greater. But the national interest in early childhood interventions, especially Head Start, has proved sturdy enough for it to become connected with the middle class parent education activities. In particular,

the family support or family resource interventions have linked with parent education. Such combined efforts take many forms and occur in a variety of settings--e.g. schools, day care centers, hospitals, health centers, and churches. They are conducted by people with a variety of professional and paraprofessional backgrounds. They cover a considerable range of target populations. Their most common frequency of contact with participants is once a week. The most commonly provided services are: 1) parent-child development education; 2) building social support networks among parents; 3) providing information and referral to make use of community resources.

Community based early intervention programs are implemented by agencies located in or near the neighborhood of the families targeted for service; they employ paraprofessionals, usually members of the community being served; often these paraprofessionals work with professionals; these programs devote attention to the family and the extra-familial environment. Overall, they focus on the parents ability to care constructively for young children; they work with families in which developmental risk to the infant is believed to be mainly due to factors in the social environment.

CURRENT INNOVATIONS: AVANCE AND CHICAGO

Many current innovative programs might be sketched here. One of the most interesting cases is the evaluation that Carnegie Corporation is supporting of AVANCE in San Antonio. AVANCE is a center-based parent support and education program serving low-income Mexican-American families. It has been functioning since 1973 and anyone who has visited it can hardly fail to be impressed. It now has two centers, one in a federal housing project and another in a low-income residential neighborhood. It has had one director from the beginning, a highly skillful, dedicated and charismatic person. It is staffed largely by former program participants, trained by core professional staff. Parents enroll when their children are anywhere from birth to three years of age and all families in the community are welcome. In addition, there is systematic, door-to-door recruitment by the staff.

A community survey conducted by AVANCE in 1980 was revealing with respect to badly needed knowledge: childrens' developmental needs; how to acquire job skills; how to sustain hope in the face of long-term adversity; how to build a sense of control over one's life; how to overcome social isolation. Indeed, a high incidence of abuse and neglect of children among young parents was detected in this survey. The staff has used

the survey to focus its program more sharply. The emphasis is on the parents' own development, especially a basis for self-esteem and perception of opportunity, improved decision-making skills, and specific knowledge of child development. In the latter respect, there is direct demonstration and modeling, encouraging play, seeking points of mutual pleasure between mother and child, and giving feedback in constructive ways. The core component is a nine-month parent education activity consisting of two-and-one-half hour sessions--one hour devoted to toy making, one hour to child development instruction, and one-half hour to a community resource speaker. The parents are taught that they themselves can be educators, and they are shown concretely how to facilitate the development of their own children. While the classes are going on, the young children of the participants get good care in the same building. Participating mothers have responsibility for taking part in the child care setting once a month. In this, they can observe a child care specialist at work while interacting with children. They also get monthly home visits during which the home visitor videotapes mother-infant interaction--these tapes are used in subsequent classes.

The AVANCE experience has pointed to the importance of ancillary services: transportation to the center; home visits for the new parents as a transition to participating in the

activities of the center; daycare; pleasurable outings, e.g. to the circus; graduation ceremonies as a focus for solidarity and reward for accomplishment; employment training; family planning; learning how to use community resources; driver education; etc. In other words, there is a tendency toward one-stop support if not one-stop shopping. The approach has grown increasingly comprehensive over the years. In a variety of ways, basic social skills are taught as an integral part of the program. Staff training and supervision is an ongoing part of the activity and one that is considered vital by the leadership.

AVANCE already has some evidence that the program fosters knowledge of child development, increases hopefulness about the future, enhances prospects in this poor community, decreases punitive approaches to child discipline, and generally improves the climate of mother-child interaction. The results of the more systematic assessment, including random assignment, will be of great interest.

Similarly, there are very interesting and ingenious innovations that have been underway for varying lengths of time in Chicago associated with the philanthropy of Irving Harris. These include Family Focus, Ounce of Prevention, and the newer Beethoven Project. These Chicago innovations are based on a firm grasp of child development research, involve an effective conjunction of private and public resources, and tackle very difficult problems including inner city children in severe

poverty. It will be exceedingly interesting to see what kind of results are obtained in systematic study of outcomes.

Altogether, the evidence to date indicates that community-based early intervention can beneficially affect a range of relevant outcomes including: 1) the personal development of young parents 2) the ability to use available community resources; 3) the attitudes and behavior of young parents toward their children; and, 4) the healthy development of children. While the effects are not massive, they are constructive and fairly consistent. The strongest effects on parenting skills and knowledge--with at least moderately beneficial effects on child development--seem to come from programs that emphasize parenting skills in a deliberate and systematic way, drawing effectively on the knowledge base and also utilizing practical demonstrations and constructive feedback. They tend to have significant professional involvement in the program, even though much of the operation may rely on paraprofessionals. Well-meaning, supportive interventions of a rather diffuse nature seem to be less effective. The difficulty of reaching out to very poor young people in socially depreciated circumstances is manifest. Yet it appears that this can be done.

SOCIAL SUPPORT NETWORKS, THE CHANGING FAMILY, AND EARLY INTERVENTION

Throughout the very long history of the human species, basic attachments have been formed early in life through readily available social support networks. Social support networks have been fundamental in human life for millenia. They are still directly relevant to basic human needs. But they are jeopardized in many different ways by formidable pressures and disruptions that are only dimly understood. In the modern world generally, but especially in poor and socially depreciated communities, we have to improvise a great deal to protect, preserve, strengthen or even create social support networks to meet basic needs.

An important area for innovation is the strengthening or construction of social support networks such as self-help/mutual aid groups where natural ones are largely lacking. This is an especially important problem in a society so fluid as the United States, with fragmentation of the traditional extended family, large scale geographic mobility, continuing migrations, very rapid technological and economic changes, and disintegrated communities.

Social support networks involve certain basic attributes: shared aspirations; mutual aid; pooling information and coping

strategies; rallying around in time of stress; utilizing community resources. They have many uses, e.g. in mastering educational systems, promoting health, and constructing building blocks of life. It is a great challenge to understand their basic processes and essential features; and to find ways to strengthen them under contemporary conditions.

Within the memory of many people living today, the human experience has changed drastically as a function of the profound technological and social changes occurring in the 20th Century. One of these changes is the shift away from small, face-to-face traditional communities with cohesive families, both nuclear and extended. While the family is still alive and its functions are still of great significance, it has been pulled out of shape throughout the world, in some places to such an extent that it has been seriously damaged. This appears to be the case in the inner-city, poverty concentration areas. Therefore, it is necessary to think about ways in which other institutions might tend to compensate in part for family vulnerabilities; or, to put the matter another way, weakened families may be strengthened by cooperative efforts among relatively strong institutions such as churches, schools, and community organizations. Indeed, a variety of institutions may be involved in deliberate efforts to build constructive social support networks that tend to foster health and education. In particular, such social support networks can focus intensely on

mastering the tasks of parental responsibility and family formation. These problems are most severe among high risk youth in poverty concentration areas, but they are also problematical throughout modern society--and increasingly so.

The interventions under consideration here are partly intended to supplement or replace functions served in smaller, simpler, less rapidly changing societies by the nuclear family, the extended family, and nearby friends. This orientation has implications that need to be worked out regarding the crucial desiderata for the people involved in such interventions. For example, what is the depth of the relationship that would be required with young parents or with their infants? What duration and continuity over time would be important for such interventions to work? For at least some of the people taking on the responsibility to intervene, the relationships formed would have to be more than superficial; there would have to be more than transient contact; and it would be necessary to avoid a kind of revolving door for those intervening in which there would be a bewildering array of strange people coming into contact with young parents and/or their young children. Careful attention will be needed to clarify the functions of different people in the intervening system and to identify those which require the greatest depth, duration, and continuity.

If we are serious about strengthening or constructing social support networks that draw upon the best available

knowledge from child development and child health research, and that function systematically to promote health and education in young families, where are the talent pools? One potentially important talent pool would consist of older people, mostly past 60 years of age, although it is quite possible that the 50-60 group could be useful as well. Particularly significant would be those who have had reasonably successful experience as parents themselves. Many might well have had constructive experience both as parents and as grandparents, or as aunts or uncles. The essential point is that real life experience with a variety of growing children, well assimilated, and a source of some gratification, could provide a useful underpinning for tackling the difficult tasks of intervention with socially disadvantaged young parents and children. Some of these older people might serve as volunteers. Others might be in paid employment--perhaps at a modest level. Presumably there would be considerable satisfaction in feeling useful and making a clear social contribution.

It is also worth considering the potential contribution of young people eager to serve and also needing to earn some money. College students and perhaps high school students could serve either as volunteers or in a part-time paid job. In either case, it would be preferable to have students who have had extensive contact with younger children either in their own families or in baby sitting activities or in community

experience. With respect to such young people, and also the older people, it would be important to have appropriate training and supervision. As noted earlier, the best results seem to occur where there is a mix of professionals and paraprofessionals. The training and supervision, would involve: A. bringing to bear the relevant well documented knowledge from child development research; B. the relevant experience in dealing with the particular population at hand.

This potentially large pool of older people and young people to supplement the core of full time, deeply committed staff in each intervention unit could be drawn from a variety of sources: churches, civic and community organizations, including minority organizations. But some orderly, systematic mechanism would be needed to recruit, evaluate, train and supervise such participants in the intervention system.

INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORT FOR CHILD DEVELOPMENT

Do we need a new institution for early childhood comparable to the schools? Regarding the years from birth to five, what institution can perform the functions that schools perform from six onward? In principle, should there be a child development center in every community? Or if not a new institution, how can an institutional capability be built? What roles are there for existing institutions in facilitating early child development?

It is not clear that there is a focal point in most communities for the well-being of young children. In principle, it is attractive to conceive of a children's institution in every town, community, or neighborhood. At a minimum, there might well be one place where the maximum feasible information about child development and child health is available. This would mean information about health, education, community resources, and the range of opportunities that bear on the fateful choices and pathways of early life. Preferably such an institution would be characterized by easy access, it would be visible, well known, respected; it would have clout in the community and yet not be intimidating to parents. Could such an institution be best built on a medical/public health base? On a church base? On a school base? Or would it really be most effective if it were freestanding, created solely and specifically for the purpose of fostering healthy development in the early years? If government were to play a role, as it would have to in the long run, would it be best for government at whatever level to operate such centers directly, or to contract with nongovernment entities to develop these functions? Given our pluralism as a nation, we will probably tackle the job in different ways in different communities.

In principle, the most fundamental point of entry for interventions that could be helpful in the crucially formative first few years of life would be early prenatal care for <u>both</u>

parents. Ideally, this would involve not only obstetrical measures designed to protect mother and infant throughout pregnancy, labor and delivery, but also some basic preparation for both parents regarding their tasks as parents and their own life course. This would mean not only preparation for pregnancy, labor and delivery, but also preparation for parenting and indeed for further life choices; in the case of poor parents at least, connection with opportunities to develop occupational skills.

The health status of American children has improved significantly over the past 20 years. However, children from low-income families and children in families where there is only one parent with minimal income, are more likely to be in poorer health than other children. Infant mortality is a crude but useful indicator of child health, and one of the major causes of infant mortality in the United States is low birthweight. It is not surprising that some of the major demographic and other risk factors for low birthweight are similar to those that impede child development. They include: mother's age (less than 17 and over 34); race (black), low socioeconomic status, unmarried, and low level of education.

Although there are many risk factors associated with low birthweight, the absence or lack of adequate prenatal care early in pregnancy is of primary concern. Future mothers are in particular need of medical care from conception (and sometimes

before) through pregnancy, at the time of delivery; and they and their newborns also need care following birth. In many states, the problem of inadequate prenatal care has grown worse since 1980. About 1/4 of mothers did not begin care in the first trimester of pregnancy; Black, Hispanic, and Native American Indian mothers are twice as likely as white mothers to receive no care in the first trimester. Each year more than a million mothers receive what is generally considered insufficient prenatal care. The Institute of Medicine of the National Academy of Sciences is conducting a study on "Increasing the Early Use of Prenatal Care: The Role of Outreach." The study is surveying programs that might serve as models for reaching hard to reach pregnant women and keeping them in care. Programs will be assessed that work to remove financial barriers, bring providers of care to underserved communities, improve access to services, keep women in care by providing intensive social supports, counselling and linkages to other needed services, use care finding methods and the public media. The study will also review more than 25 surveys on what women themselves see as barriers to obtaining prenatal care. A goal of the study is to raise the interest of the health services research community in outreach for prenatal care, as well as raising the subject on the public policy agenda.

The reasons why women do not receive adequate prenatal care are varied, but the basic barriers to care are 1) Childbirth is

viewed as a normal biological event that does not require medical attention; 2) the poor and the "near poor" do not have the money to pay for prenatal care and are not eligible for care under certain publicly financed programs; 3) lack of child care, transportation, distance, and job demands may interfere with regularly scheduled visits, and 4) fear of doctors and cultural barriers, including a reluctance to be examined or have lab work done. A study of poor mothers in San Antonio, Texas revealed that 62% received inadequate prenatal care. 70% of the women interviewed did not value prenatal care, pointing to serious need for consumer education. In addition to removing barriers that exist in the current health care system, focusing on opportunities and interventions before pregnancy outcomes is promising and feasible. These include: prepregnancy risk identification, counseling, and risk reduction; health education related to pregnancy outcome generally and to low birthweight in particular; and full availability of family planning services, especially for low-income women and adolescents.

Another similar arena of fundamental opportunity would be parent-child resource activities (centers, units or whatever designation) from birth onward. This would mean some kind of visible and accessible entity in the local community that would tap into the motivation of parents to take good care of their own children and develop their own lives. Approached in this way, it seems plausible that health institutions have an

important role to play, not only in direct care but also in organization of broader activities in the framework of public health; or at least as an organized gate keeper for access to other opportunities in parent-child development. However, it seems very unlikely that health institutions alone can evolve in such ways as to meet the needs we are addressing here. As a practical matter, it will be necessary to achieve cooperation among several institutions in a particular community--and the mix might well differ from one to another. Schools, universities, media, churches, business, community organizations, government at various levels, and organizations of the scientific and scholarly community--all of these could play a highly constructive role in addressing the problems of concern here. To do so, they will need attention, stimulation, and incentives beyond those presently in view in most communities.

CONCLUDING COMMENT

Our ancestors evolved patterns of behavior that worked over exceedingly long periods of time in environments that changed only very slowly by today's standards. Then, rapid change occurred with the Industrial Revolution, and became much more rapid and far-reaching in the 20th century. In all likelihood, our present circumstances are very different in most respects

than those in which we evolved over many millenia. So our ancient heritage--reflected in our genes, brains, and deep-seated orientations--must now be related to the new world we have so rapidly made. It is a world transformed, and we must learn to live in it without destroying ourselves. In this complicated quest for decent adaptation in modern circumstances, we cannot afford to waste the first few years--let alone use them destructively. Those years have always been crucial in human adaptation. They provide the fundamental opportunity for learning the basic elements of what we need to know--about ourselves, about each other, about the world around us, about ways to cope and to solve problems.

In my view, the most crucially formative periods of development in the entire life span are the first few years of life and early adolescence. Both of these periods are characterized by rapid development, major shaping influences, vulnerability, and long-term consequences.

With respect to the first few years of life, there are several recurrent features of the research literature that are related to effectiveness of intervention for young parents and their very young children.

1) Education for pregnant women, mothers,and other caregivers--certainly including fathers. Such education centers on self-care during pregnancy, use of pre-natal health care, essential features of child development taught in a practical

and meaningful way, child rearing principles, points of crucial responsiveness for the caregiver. 2) Age appropriate exercises and methods of stimulation. General principles are not enough. Specific applications in day-to-day situations of mother and baby are crucial.

3) Facilitation of mother/child interactions. Practical experience in sensitivity to the baby's cues as well as practical matters of support, encouragement, and reward; how to find shared pleasure in this most fundamental of human relationships.

These three aims can usefully be pursued in a variety of modes, for example: interactive modeling (giving the mother an opportunity to observe, imitate, practice and get feedback); parent groups in the mode of social support networks; home visits, particularly as a means of stimulating participation in the activities of a community center.

There is a rich literature on cognitive intervention studies, dealing both with the Head Start type of research starting at about age 4 and going on for some years in longitudinal follow-up; and also a significant body of research on the earlier years of life. It has become clear that the utility of such interventions is not only in cognition but also in human relationships. Research evidence shows that carefully-crafted early intervention can have benefits in several major spheres of human development.

The most successful interventions in the 0 - 5 age period have certain basic characteristics. 1) They start early. 2) They involve the parents substantially in the effort for the long pull. 3) They strengthen natural social support networks. 4) They provide educational activities for young children that have a moderately stimulating quality. 5) They sustain contact with mothers and children over relatively long periods.

Overall, there appear to be potentially strong effects of combined: 1) parent education, 2) quality day care, 3) fostering of social support networks. Such effects may be observed in the children, their mothers, and younger siblings; they appear to be significant in middle-class children as well as poor children. For the latter the experience occurs against the background of deprivation and tends to meet needs that are less likely to be met otherwise.

What we do early in life lays the foundation for all the rest. The early years can provide the basis for a long, healthy life-span. Early preventive intervention can be exceptionally valuable. Health and education are closely linked in the development of vigorous, skillful, adaptable young people. Investments in health and education can be guided by research in biomedical and behavioral sciences in ways likely to prevent much of the damage now being done to children. We have learned a lot in recent years about ways of preventing damage to

children--prenatal and perinatal care, early education, immunization, nutrition, and much more. The great challenge now is to be sufficiently resourceful and persistent to find ways of putting that knowledge to use for healthy child development in a rapidly changing socio-technical context. If there is a more fundamental task for human beings, I wonder what it could be.

QUESTIONS FOR DAVID HAMBURG

Q: Do you see any gaps in existing federal programs and policies? Are there new initiatives that we should be pursuing?

A: The current initiative on Child Development Centers is outstanding. In addition, close scrutiny of research on adolescence is in order. The Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development is studying it and will make recommendations. A press release on the Council is attached.

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CARNEGIE COUNCIL ON ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT NAMES MEMBERS

NEW YORK -- Carnegie Corporation of New York announced today the appointment of 24 members of the Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, a new initiative taken by the foundation in June to generate public and private action for the promotion of healthier adolescent development and the prevention of seriously damaging experiences in adolescence.

The members (see page 4) are national leaders from education, science, government, law, business, religion, health, journalism, and youth agencies, who will bring broad perspectives on adolescent issues to the Council. They will guide the Council's activities and play key roles in bringing the Council's work to the attention of practitioners, policymakers, and the general public.

The Council will be served by a small professional staff based in Washington, D.C. Executive director of the Council is Dr. Ruby Takanishi, former director of the Scientific Affairs Office of the American Psychological Association. She is a specialist in child development and social policy, having served on the faculties of the University of California, Los Angeles, Yale, and Teachers College, Columbia.

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"Given the enormous burden of illness, suffering, and cost to the nation represented by adolescent problems, issues such as school-age pregnancy, school failure, abuse of alcohol and other drugs, violence, and suicide deserve a higher place on the national agenda," said Dr. David A. Hamburg, Carnegie Corporation's president, who will head the Council as a project of the foundation.

Dr. Hamburg said, "The Council will attempt to mobilize the resources within many sectors of American society to increase our knowledge and effectiveness in coping with such problems."

The Council plans to "cast a national spotlight on the casualties of adolescence and make a major effort to take stock of effective approaches to their prevention," according to Dr. Hamburg, who said "the Council is intended to have a stimulating effect on a variety of public and private agencies concerned with research, services, and prevention."

The Council's ultimate aim, he added, "is to improve the nation's understanding and treatment of this age group."

The Council will have four broad functions that will be carried out at varying stages in its evolution:

1) Synthesizing existing knowledge: The Council will clarify the facts about adolescent problems and integrate existing knowledge about adolescent development, cutting across disciplines and specialized areas of research. The intention is to identify the elements of successful and promising approaches to prevention.

2) Building new knowledge: From this synthesis, the Council will identify the gaps in knowledge about adolescent problems and recommend new directions for research, and funding for research.

3) Stimulating youth policies: The Council will attempt to translate the knowledge base on particular issues or problems into public and private policies aimed at prevention. The Council will recommend new approaches to prevention for implementation on a broad scale.

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4) Linking research to practitioners and to the public: The Council will make research findings available to practitioners and to the general public through reports and through the broadcast and print media.

Specific activities of the Council will be determined at its first meeting in January. In general, the project will work primarily through task forces comprising both members of the Council and outside experts and draw upon a wide range of consultants from the United States and abroad. The views of adolescents on their own experience will be taken into consideration.

Topics to be addressed in the first year of this multi-year effort may well include the following:

1) The nature and scope of serious adolescent problems and the connections among these problems;

2) assessment of recent innovations intended to foster education for healthy adolescent development;

3) the main findings of recent biological and behavioral research;

4) the constructive potential of the media in adolescent development.

Dr. Hamburg said that the interest of various foundations in adolescents is rising. It is his hope, he said, that foundations will work cooperatively in addressing adolescent problems and in contributing toward increased understanding of this critical stage of life.

Dr. Hamburg noted that Carnegie Corporation has played a significant role in stimulating policies and programs for the early childhood years and contributed to the now widely accepted idea of

the critical importance of early childhood programs. "What happens during the early childhood years can be linked to the prevention of adolescent problems," Hamburg stated. "Carnegie Corporation now aims to make a similar, substantial contribution to public recognition of the crucial adolescent years and to the creation of innovative policies and programs that support healthy adolescent development."

Members of the Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development are:

H. KEITH H. BRODIE, M.D. is president of Duke University in Durham, North Carolina, and past president of the American Psychiatric Association.

MICHAEL I. COHEN, M.D., is chairman of the Department of Pediatrics at Montefiore Hospital, New York City, and a recognized leader in adolescent health. A member of the American Academy of Pediatrics, he chaired the committee on adolescence between 1977 and 1980.

ALONZO A. CRIM is superintendent of the Atlanta Public School system where he has served since 1973. He is a member of the American Association of School Administrators and the recipient of the Vincent Conray Award, Harvard Graduate School of Education.

MICHAEL S. DUKAKIS was recently reelected to his third term as Governor of Massachusetts. He chairs the Democratic Governors' Association and the Economic Development Committee of the National Governors' Association. He has played a leading role in CHOICES, an employment and training program for welfare recipients.

BEATRIX A. HAMBURG, M.D., is Clinical Professor of Psychiatry and Pediatrics, Mt. Sinai School of Medicine, New York City. A member of the Institute of Medicine of the National Academy of Sciences, she is on the board of the William T. Grant and Bush foundations.

DAVID E. HAYES-BAUTISTA is acting director, Chicano Studies Research Center, University of California at Los Angeles. He has recently completed a book entitled The Burden of Support: Young Latino Population in an Aging Anglo Society.

FRED M. HECHINGER has been president of the New York Times Company Foundation since 1977. Formerly education editor of the Times, he became a member of its editorial board in 1969. He is a member of the Advisory Council of the Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy.

DAVID HORNBECK is State Superintendent of Schools for the state of Maryland. He recently became president of the Council of Chief

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of State School Officers and announced an initiative of that Council to address adolescent problems.

DANIEL K. INOUYE is the senior Democratic senator from Hawaii, having served in the U.S. Senate since 1962. The third-ranking Democratic Senator, he is secretary for the Senate Democratic Conference, a member of the Appropriations and Commerce committees, and a long-time leader in health legislation.

JAMES M. JEFFORDS is a Republican member of the U.S. House of Representatives from Vermont. He is the Ranking Minority Member of the Committee on Education and Labor and served as an original member of the House Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families.

RICHARD JESSOR is director of the Institute of Behavioral Sciences, University of Colorado. His research has included problem behavior in youth; cultural factors in drinking; and personality development in adolescence.

HELENE L. KAPLAN is a partner with the law firm of Webster & Sheffield. She chairs the board of trustees of Carnegie Corporation and Barnard College and was chairman of the New York Council for the Humanities from 1978 to 1982.

NANCY L. KASSEBAUM has been a Republican member of the U.S. Senate from Kansas since 1979. She has served on the Budget Committee and on the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues. She chaired the Aviation Subcommittee of the Senate Commerce Committee and the Subcommittee on African Affairs of the Foreign Relations Committee.

THOMAS H. KEAN is serving his second term as governor of New Jersey. A former high school teacher, Governor Kean has just completed his term as Chairman of the Education Commission of the States and of the National Governors' Association Task Force on Teaching, which recently issued its report, Time for Results.

TED KOPPEL, internationally known broadcast journalist, is anchorman for ABC News Nightline, an in-depth late-night news program. He has been a foreign and diplomatic correspondent for ABC News for twenty years and has coauthored with Marvin Kalb the book, In the National Interest.

HERNAN LA FONTAINE is Superintendent of Schools, Hartford Public Schools. He is a member of the American Association of School Administrators and has served as president of the National Association of Bilingual Education.

ELEANOR E. MACCOBY is professor of psychology at Stanford University. She was chairman of the Social Science Research Council in 1983 and president of the interdisciplinary Society for Research in Child Development from 1981 to 1983.

RAY MARSHALL is Rapoport Centennial Chair in Economics and Public Affairs, LBJ School of Public Affairs, University of Texas. He was the U.S. Secretary of Labor in the Carter Administration from 1977

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to 1981.

JULIUS B. RICHMOND, M.D., is director of the Harvard University Division of Health Policy Research and Education. He is a member of the Institute of Medicine of the National Academy of Sciences and former U.S. Assistant Secretary for Health. From 1977 to 1981 he served as Surgeon General of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

FREDERICK C. ROBBINS, M.D., is a professor in the Department of Epidemiology and Biostatistics, School of Medicine, Case Western Reserve University. He is former president of the Institute of Medicine, National Academy of Sciences. In 1954, Dr. Robbins received the Nobel prize in physiology and medicine.

REVEREND KENNETH B. SMITH, president of the Chicago Theological Seminary, is an ordained minister of the United Church of Christ. As a religious leader, he has been active in community-based programs for children and youth in Illinois.

WILMA TISCH has been president of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, a major provider of health, education, and social services in New York City, from 1980-1983. She is currently a trustee of WNYC Foundation, which oversees public radio and television broadcasting in New York City.

R. ROY VAGELOS, M.D., chairman and chief executive officer of Merck & Company, is a member of the Institute of Medicine of the National Academy of Sciences and the discoverer of acyl-carrier protein.

ADMIRAL JAMES D. WATKINS, former Chief of Naval Operations, U.S. Navy, from 1982 to 1986, initiated a major Navy program, "Personal Excellence and National Security," to enhance the health and welfare of American youth.

WILLIAM J. WILSON is chairman of the Department of Sociology and Lucy Flower Professor of Urban Sociology at the University of Chicago. He is the author of The Declining Significance of Race (1978) and Through Different Eyes (1973).

The CHAIRMAN. The next witness is Marian Wright Edelman, president of the Children's Defense Fund. Mrs. Edelman has been a long-time advocate on behalf of economically and educationally deprived children. She has appeared before our committees on numerous occasions, and we are pleased to have her with us again today.

Mrs. EDELMAN. I want to thank the chairman of both of these committees who have been long-standing child advocates, and the other members of the committees who have spoken out for a very long time for children. I am very hopeful with the many new respectable and mainstream voices that preventive investment in children in this Nation will become a reality over the next decade.

Between now and the year 2000, the Nation must mount a carefully conceived, comprehensive human investment effort in all of our young and in all of our families to overcome the debilitating effects of the decades of poverty, racial discrimination, neglect, eroding employment and family wages, and budget and tax policies which favor the wealthy and the military, that have left the disadvantaged even more disadvantaged.

We must begin with the national commitment to ensure that every child has basic health care including prenatal care services and nutrition, and early childhood services, and thus the capacity and opportunity to learn well and develop strong basic and democratic skills. I want to use most of my time to urge a downpayment this year in the budget and appropriationsprocess on that human investment effort.

The level of young children's basic skills has a powerful effect on his or her prospects for future achievement and eventual self-sufficiency.

I just want to reinforce the relationship between basic skills and welfare prevention and teenage pregnancy which we are all concerned about. Young people who by age 18 have the weakest reading and math skills when compared to those with above average basic skills are eight times more likely to bear children out of wedlock, seven times more likely to drop out of school before graduation, four times to be more likely to be out of work and out of school, and they are four times more likely to turn to public assistance for basic income support.

I would reinforce the notion that has already been stated by several witnesses that building good basic skills does not start at the beginning of school. It starts with prenatal care, and this Congress has a number of bills pending to expand access to prenatal care for all pregrant women with family income up to 185 percent of the federal poverty level.

The number of low birth weight babies in our Nation and the infant mortality rates are, frankly, disgraceful. First, I would hope in this session of Congress that we will see a mandated expansion of Medicaid to cover every poor pregrant woman and child, and to assure the prenatal care that I think will cut down on the number of low birth rate babies and their intensive hospitalization costs. That is something you can do this year to make a significant downpayment.

The chairman of our Senate committee has a major health bill pending to ensure that more poor mothers and babies are born healthy and with the best chance to succeed.

Secondly, I hope you will invest more in successful programs that can have a proven impact on basic skills and teenage pregnancy prevention. You heard about Head Start. We would like an incremental increase in Head Start which still serves less than 20 percent of the eligible children so we can, over a 5-year period, begin to reach a critical mass of those children. We ought to invest at least $300 million more in Head Start this year.

Third, I would like to see us expanding WIC. We have a 5-year goal between now and 1992 that every eligible mother and child who needs WIC services will get them, and we can achieve that by a $200 million annual increase in the program. We cannot afford not to invest more money in WIC; the congressional budget allows an increased investment but we must see that become a reality in the appropriations process.

On Chapter 1, the chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee brought fine leadership and set a goal for full funding for services for all eligible children under Chapter 1 by 1992. We can do that by an investment, a modest new investment of half a billion dollars a year—$500 million. I hope to see in both Chambers a commitment this year to have a modest increase in the number of children who can be served by Chapter 1. This is something within your means to do this year as a very modest downpayment. I think it is important that we begin to set goals that we can reach over a period of time. We are not unmindful of our deficit problem, but I think that the message that is coming from the CED report and from all of our efforts over a period of time is that investing in children is a deficit reduction strategy in the long run.

So we would hope that you would take the modest steps I have outlined this year.

We also hope that you will pay more attention to child immunization, and increase the appropriations so that we don't have the numbers of preschool children who are now not fully immunized against preventable diseases.

I want to commend and express my support as well, for the Chairman's Comprehensive Child Development Centers Act. I think it is a modest demonstration program that we ought to see enacted in this session.

We also support the secondary schools program for basic skills improvement, and the dropout prevention and reentry program authorized in H.R. 5, with the fine support of Mr. Goodling and Mr. Hayes.

We similarly, support S. 1420, the School Dropout Demonstration Assistance Act of 1987, attempts to reduce school dropouts and to improve basic skills of secondary students. I just hope you will renew your commitments in light of what you have heard from this panel and the CED report to ensure these modest steps become a reality this year.

As the CED report emphasized, I think it is also critically important that the Federal Government provide the technical assistance in order to ensure that these programs run as smoothly as possible.

We support the move by the National Assessment of Educational Progress to redesign the study which we often call the nation's report card to provide State by State data.

There are also a number of specific steps that States can provide and take to improve the plight of disadvantaged children. And I hope the State officials, like Congress, will take a number of these very specific steps to make a significant difference for disadvantaged children this year.

Finally, I am grateful that the private sector plans a stronger role. We think it has a critically important role to play and can be a persuasive voice in encouraging investment in disadvantaged youth. Mr. Butler's work and presence here today is very much welcome. The efforts of the private sector in the California roundtable and the Boston compact and in a number of other cities are examples of the ability of the business community to mobilize a wide variety of parties—schools and policymakers, community groups and parents—to improve the services for disadvantaged youth receive.

It is very clear that our nation knows what it can do and should do, I think, to take care of our disadvantaged. What we have lacked so far is the political will.

I think that the key and the proof of the pudding in the new voices is how sustained and how persistent they are going to be in trying to push the Congress and push our States and push our communities to take the specific and concrete steps that they need to take and should take to help all our children. We welcome that voice, we look forward to a continuing partnership to make those concrete investments.

We are very pleased to have these new allies.

[Information supplied for the record follows:]

1) Existing federal funding levels deprive many poor children of access to the basic health, nutrition and early childhood services which will help them grow into healthy, self-sufficient, and productive adults. We must start by ensuring that all eligible children can benefit from proven successful and cost-effective programs.

The American people support investments in disadvantaged children. Recent polls show that the majority of our citizens believe that the government is not doing enough for poor children, and are willing to pay more taxes to do more. History has proven that investments in children pay off in the long run: investments in public health programs during the 1960's helped bring down our infant mortality rate; investments in education programs during the 1960's and 1970's paid off by reducing the reading achievement gap between black and white elementary school children by 40 percent. Yet today:

- Only 76 percent of all mothers and 56 percent of teen mothers receive early prenatal care critical to both mother and infant health.
- Only 40 percent of those eligible for the Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants and Children(WIC) are able to benefit from its cost-effective nutrition assistance.
- Half of all Black preschool children are not fully immunized, though immunizations prevent serious diseases in children and cost a pittance compared to lifelong institutionalization for preventable handicaps.
- Four out of five children who need Head Start cannot participate, though the program has been shown to help keep children at grade level, improve their health and nutrition, and in the long run reduce teen pregnancy and welfare dependency.
- Half of the children eligible for Chapter I services are excluded from this program which improves the basic skills levels among poor children. Basic skills are increasingly found to have long-term implications for self-sufficiency, teen parenthood and employment.

The large number of our youth who are at risk of dropping out of school, getting pregnant or never entering the work force demand significant and creative new initiatives. For example, we should explore Youth Opportunity Accounts which reward

teenagers' achievments with assistance for additional education and job training opportunities. We must also begin to address the growing dropout rates. In some communities, as many as one out of two youth fail to complete high school. We commend Congress for its recent dropout prevention initiatives, and encourage significant and increased investments in programs to help those youth who are at risk of leaving school, as well as those who have already left.

2) I am very pleased that the business community plans to develop and support both private sector and government investments in disadvantaged children and youth. They must expand and strengthen their role as advocates for these vulnerable children and the programs and services that can help them. We hope that the business community will work nationwide, as some of its members already do, to mobilize schools, policy makers, community groups and parents. We look forward as well to the benefits of increased resources, both human and financial, that they can commit to helping disadvantaged children grow into productive, self-sufficient members of the work force.

3) The Head Start and Chapter 1 programs have taught us all the importance and effectiveness of keeping young children in a supportive environment where they can build a foundation for learning. The early intervention of both of these programs has been repeatedly shown to help at-risk youth do better in school. As I said earlier, we must assure that all eligible children can benefit from these important programs.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

The next witness is David Weikart, president of the High/Scope Educational Research Foundation. He is the principal investigator for the Perry Preschool study, a long-term longitudinal study of economically disadvantaged children.

Mr. Weikart, as you might have noted from the previous testimony, those five bells mean we probably have 4 or 5 minutes to vote. If he can, I hope Chairman Hawkins will proceed with the hearing.

Please proceed.

Mr. WEIKART. It is my pleasure to be here today, and I appreciate the opportunity. The last few times I testified before Congress, it was with other researchers who represent the field, and specific points of view within the field. I think it is a tribute to the development of early education, and the importance of early intervention that this panel consists of leading spokespeople from the business community, a distinguished executive from philanthropy, and the foremost advocate of children's rights in this country.

As I listen, I know that we have an opportunity to make programs for children more effective. Such programs are receiving attention for an interesting reason, the economic findings from research studies. We have always heard the argument for compassion for children, and the needs for our children as our future. However, it is the economic returns that have attracted the attention.

In our own studies we began when the children were age eight, projecting economic findings, and found that for every dollar invested, approximately $2.60 will be returned, using very strict economic criteria. We found that at age 15, for every dollar invested, approximately $4.65 would be returned, and then recently on data at age 19 we found we continued to underestimate the returns. We track adult patterns and records, and we found for every dollar invested approximately $7 are returned.

Our preliminary data from the age 28 study of these young people indicate we continue to underestimate the economic return. We are looking for a twofold or threefold increase in the amount of return per dollar invested, using very rigorous and conservative economic criteria.

I think it is the economic data that allows the argument to be made for early childhood intervention as forcibly as it is being made today because the question is not whether we shall spend the money, the question is only when, and how much.

The second issue, we are facing within the field as practitioners is that of quality in programs. There is a great deal of concern in the early childhood field in general about this issue. The worry is that as programs are instituted, they will not be of sufficient quality to produce the kinds of results that are indicated by the data that are available from a number of studies. The need to move toward the focus on quality is a serious one, and one that is represented by action being taken by the National Association of Education of Young Children, by many of State associations, Head Start, and others.

The elements for improving quality, though, are hard to grasp. They are not easy to legislate. They are certainly very difficult to regulate. It includes such things as developing ongoing training programs for staff that are involved in day care, Head Start, and

other child service programs, and training is not a very popular subject, but it is one that is absolutely necessary, if we are going to get the return on the investment. Staff need to come into the program with some degree of qualification, so that, indeed, as they are trained they can be effective in their work.

Then too, programs like National Head Start, need to remain as leadership programs, as a reference and demonstration program for local projects in cities and States as they are evolved and developed.

In a sense one would think with all the studies and interest in young children that we would know all there is to know about kids, not only socially and nutritionally, but also as to their intellectual growth. In fact, our knowledge base is limited. We have smatterings here and there, and strong trends are identified and documented. There is a need for continued development and research in this field so we can target investments and make them more productive. Even such things as why parents use day care, what kinds of day care are chosen, what the effects of such programs are, what kind of services are rendered by the programs, is not well known. Currently, a large scale integrated study is being undertaken to look at child care and family decisions in some 17 countries. A study like this will give us information as to how children spend their time, the quality of that time, and the kind of decisions and opportunities it provides for parents in terms of work and other related decisions.

In general, we have an opportunity to provide programs that produce long-term changes in young children, in their families, and economic benefits to the community at large. What we know now, that we did not know before, is when children fail in school it is not the problem of the child. It is the fault of us as adults in our society.

We also know something else, that the learning process in children differs by age. We use words like "basic skills", "back to basics", facts, reading, arithmetic, to describe things we think are essential for young children to know. And they are. Learning is accumulative. But we also know good techniques and learning opportunities for 3- and 4-year olds differs considerably from those typical for a 9-, 10- and 11-year old, and older children.

The CED has given us support and knowledge based on data and research. We have the rationale and the basis for expansion of these programs, which should be done. But in addition to that, we have to begin looking at the issues of quality, what kinds of programs are best suited for young children, and how to make these programs work to produce their promise for the children, for the families, and for us as a total social group.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Weikart and responses to questions submitted by Senator Kennedy follow:]

HEARING TESTIMONY

Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources
and
House Committee on Education and Labor

David P. Weikart
High/Scope Educational Research Foundation
600 North River Street
Ypsilanti, Michigan 48198

Wednesday, September 9, 1987

Senator Kennedy, Congressman Hawkins, members of the Committees, I am David P. Weikart, President of the High/Scope Educational Research Foundation, an independent, nonprofit research, development, and training organization with headquarters in Ypsilanti, Michigan. The Foundation's principal goals are to promote the development of children from infancy through adolescence and to support teachers and parents as they help children learn and grow. The Foundation conducts national and international projects in research, program development, professional training, publishing, and public outreach, with funding support from both governmental and private sources.

Today I will address the issue the nation faces with children at risk and the advantages of utilizing early intervention to ameliorate these problems. Specifically, after a brief review of the problem, the basic finding from the 25-year longitudinal study of preschool children in the High/Scope Ypsilanti Perry Preschool Project will be presented. These findings will be followed by a discussion on the issue of quality in such programs and some of the limited data available on this issue. Finally, several policy concerns are presented as ideas for committee consideration.

Children at Risk in Poverty

Statistics about the problems substantial numbers of America's children face as they grow up in our society raise troubling issues these days. Using 1985 Census data, 28 percent of American children live in poverty. Up to 14 percent are children of teenage mothers. Some 40 percent will live in a broken home before they reach the age of 18. Over 10 percent will have poorly educated and even possibly illiterate parents. Over 25 percent will never graduate from high school. These statistics are for America's children in general. When we move to minority youngsters the data become even more serious. For example, a black child is three times more likely than a white child to be born into poverty. An Hispanic child is more than twice as likely to be poor. Problems of the persistent poor, those where we expect poverty to endure for more than 10 years,

present the worst case. While only about 4 percent of all children fall into this category, 90 percent of the persistent poor are black and a significant majority of these lack a father in their home and live in the rural south. (1)

Further racial contrasts are present in poverty statistics in general. For example, 45 percent of black children are born into poverty while 15 percent of white children are born poor. The average black child can expect to spend more than five years of his childhood in poverty while the average white child spends less than 10 months. Typically, white poverty is associated with changes in marital status or in family earnings and is usually short-term. Black poverty, on the other hand, lasts longer and is less affected by family composition. (1)

To be born and grow up poor leads to major problems for the child and ultimately for society at large. Black and Hispanic children score below white youngsters in standardized achievement tests. The average scores for blacks and Hispanics on scholastic aptitude, verbal and mathematics are more than 100 points lower than those scores of whites. The same division is found on the tests administered by the National Assessment of Educational Progress Studies. The dropout rate continues to be extreme for non-white youth. More than three-fourths of all white youth will graduate from high school. Less than 60 percent of all blacks and slightly more than 50 percent of all Hispanics will reach graduation. (2) The new tendency to stress high quality education through tighter graduation and promotion policies drawn from the recent reform effort will probably reduce the school completion rate for minorities even more. (3)

Crime statistics are comparable. Disadvantaged minority youth by age 21 have obtained a 50 percent arrest rate; the national average as a whole reaches approximately 18 percent.

While these statistics should generate compassion on the part of Americans able to institute reform and support, the situation actually calls for more than simple concern. The most bleak statistics are those which the social scientists call the "dependency ratio." This ratio is the number of children and retired elderly for every 100 workers. In 1986 the dependency ratio for children per 100 workers was 42.1. While that for the elderly 65 and over is 19.4 per 100 workers. By the year 2030 every 100 workers will be required to support 74 dependents, 37 of whom are young and 37 old. (2)

In short, every black, every white, and every Hispanic worker in America will have to be extraordinarily skilled and able to generate the income to support such dependency rates. The problem of educating the youth of America is not an abstract responsibility for the concerned citizen. These are the future adults upon whom we, the current adults, will depend. The consequences of growing up poor in our society are not only creating a bleak future for the individual poor youngster, but

are creating a potentially bleak situation for all adults. Something must be done.

The Role of Intervention on Intellectual and Social Development of Children

The available evidence suggests part of any solution to the prevention of major social and personal problems in adults is to provide high quality preschool child development programs to them when they are young. This idea for prevention first became popular among leading educators and social scientists in the 1960s and led to the establishment of National Head Start. It also led to a variety of experimental programs and, in accord with the spirit of the times, to a limited number of scientific evaluations of the effectiveness of these programs. Despite some early findings and some recent echoes that cast doubt on the overall efficacy of the national Head Start program, the findings of carefully drawn studies of preschool child development programs suggest a possible pattern of causes and effects that stretches from early childhood into adulthood. (4)

Poor children are likely to perform poorly as they enter school because they have not developed to the same extent as their middle-class peers, the skills, habits, and attitudes expected of children in kindergarten and first grade; this lack of development is manifested in low scores on tests of intellectual, or scholastic ability. Children who have not developed in this way may be developmentally advanced in other respects not relevant to school success. Their lack of preparedness for school, however, can lead to unnecessary (that is, preventable) placement in special education or retention in grade, low scholastic achievement, and eventually dropping out of high school. Poor children who attend good preschool child development programs become better prepared in the skills, habits, and attitudes expected of them in kindergarten and first grade. Thus, they begin a more successful career in school and into adult life. Perhaps the best known of these early intervention programs is High/Scope Foundation's Ypsilanti Perry Preschool Project. (5)

Ypsilanti Perry Preschool Project

The Perry Preschool Project is an ongoing study begun in 1962 of 123 black youths, from families of low socioeconomic status, who were at risk of failing in school. The purpose of the study is to explore the long-term effects on these young people of participation versus non-participation in a program of high quality early childhood education. Drawn from a single school attendance area, at ages 3 and 4 these youngsters were randomly divided into an experimental group that received a high quality preschool program and a control group that received no preschool program. Information about these youngsters on hundreds of variables has been collected and examined annually

from ages 3 to 11, and again at ages 14, 15, 19, and now at age 28--assessing family demographics; child abilities, and scholastic accomplishments; and involvement in delinquent and criminal behavior, use of welfare assistance, and employment.

Curriculum

The Perry Preschool Project used the High/Scope Curriculum and it will serve as an example of the content of an early education program. Organized around Piagetian ideas, the fundamental premise of the curriculum is that children are active learners and construct their own knowledge from activities they plan and carry out themselves. This concept of active learning revolves around everything done in the curriculum from teacher training to parent involvement. Such an approach implies a consistent daily routine because the children have to be able to institute the plans and ideas that they have. This adherence to routine gives the children control of their time necessary to develop a sense of responsibility and to enjoy the opportunity to be independent. In the High/Scope Curriculum the daily routine is a plan-do-review sequence that incorporates clean-up time and small and large group activities. This cycle permits children to make choices about their activities and keeps the teachers involved in the whole process. Planning gives children a consistent opportunity to express their ideas to adults and to see themselves as individuals who can make and act on decisions. Children experience the power of independence and the joy of working with attentive adults and peers.

The "do" part of the plan-do-review sequence occurs after the child has finished planning. Since children are responsible for executing their plans, adults do not lead work time activities. The adult's role during work time is to observe how children gather information, interact with peers, and solve problems; and second to enter into the child's activities to encourage and set up problem-solving situations.

The final phase of the plan-do-review cycle gives children an opportunity to represent their work time experiences in a variety of developmentally appropriate ways. They can draw pictures or make models of what they did, review their plan or verbally describe the activities that were undertaken.

From the teacher's point of view, the High/Scope Curriculum is organized around key experiences which provides a framework that guides adults in conducting the classroom program. With a focus on key experiences, teachers are freed from the standard lesson sequences or activity charts. (6)

Results

The long-term study of these 123 youngsters, following them from program entry at age 3 to young adulthood at age 19 has provided important information on the impact of early education on future growth. On the whole, early childhood education significantly alters the child's performance in later life.

Results to age 19 comparing those who attended preschool and those who did not can be summarized as follows:

In education--

- Fewer classified as mentally retarded (15% vs. 35%)
- More completed high school (67% vs. 49%)
- More attended college or job training programs (38% vs. 21%)

In the world of work--

- More hold jobs (50% vs. 32%)
- More support themselves by their own (or spouse's) earnings (45% vs. 25%)
- More are satisfied with work (42% vs. 26%)

In the community--

- Fewer arrested for criminal acts (31% vs. 51%)
- Lower birth rate (64 vs. 117 per 100 women)
- Fewer on public assistance (18% vs. 32%)

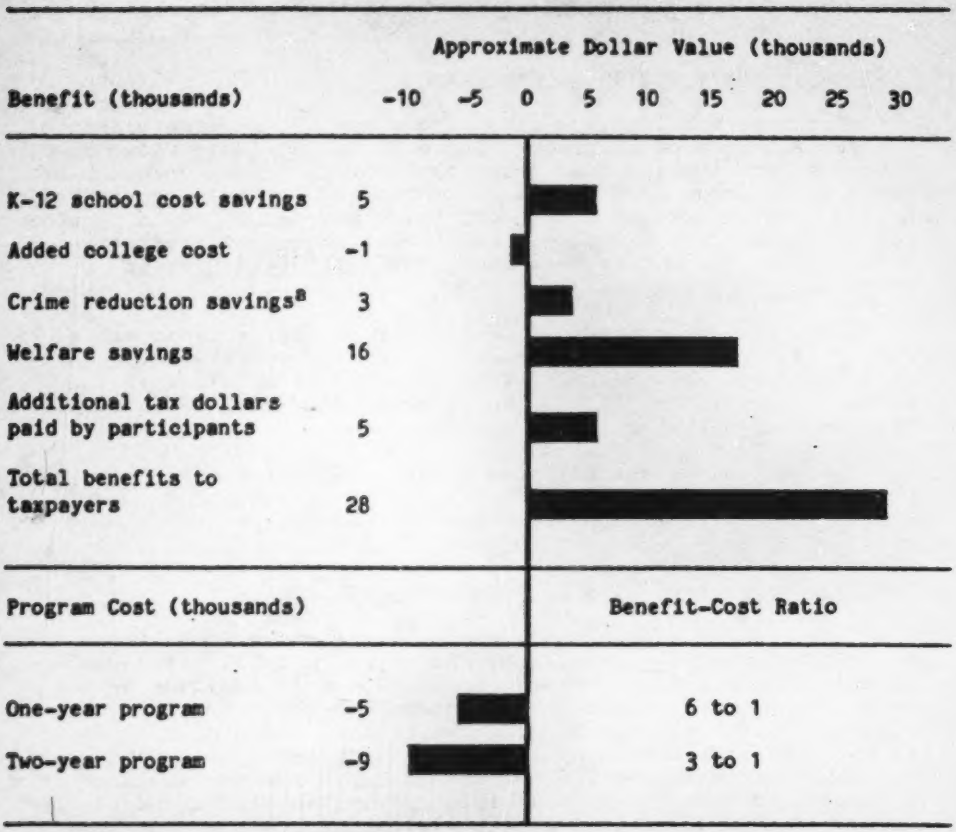
Economic Outcomes

The cost-benefit analysis of the Perry Preschool program indicates that such programs can be a good investment for taxpayers. On the basis of a careful analysis of 15 years of follow-up data, this program showed a very positive value to taxpayers. (7)

Figure 1 indicates that the major cost of the program (in constant 1981 dollars, discounted at 3 percent annually) is the initial investment of about $5,000 per participant per program year. (It is important to note that this cost figure includes items of school operation that are usually overlooked such as building depreciation, clothing, volunteers, etc.) Major benefits found for the taxpayers were reduced costs per participant of about $5,000 for special education programs, $3,000 for crime, and $16,000 for welfare assistance. Additional post-secondary education costs by participants added about $1,000 to costs. Participants were expected to pay $5,000 more in taxes because of increased lifetime earnings (predicted from their improved educational attainment).

FIGURE 1

PERRY PRESCHOOL PROGRAM PER-CHILD
COSTS AND BENEFITS TO TAXPAYERS


Approximate Dollar Value (thousands)
Benefit (thousands)
-10 -5 0 5 10 15 20 25 30
K-12 school cost savings 5
Added college cost -1
Crime reduction savings[a] 3
Welfare savings 16
Additional tax dollars paid by participants 5
Total benefits to taxpayers 28
Program Cost (thousands)
Benefit-Cost Ratio
One-year program -5
6 to 1
Two-year program -9
3 to 1

Note. Table entries are constant 1981 dollars, discounted at 3% annually. Adapted from John R. Berrueta-Clement, Lawrence J. Schweinhart, W. Steven Barnett, Ann S. Epstein, & David P. Weikart, Changed lives: The effects of the Perry Preschool program on youths through age 19, Monographs of the High/Scope Educational Research Foundation, 8 (Ypsilanti, MI: High/Scope Press, 1984), p. 91.

[a]Savings to citizens as taxpayers and as potential crime victims.

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Thus, total benefits to taxpayers amount to about $28,000 per participant, which is nearly six times the initial cost of the one-year program, or three times the cost of the two-year program. The return is large enough that even a two-year program that was only half as effective as the program studied would still yield a positive return on investment. The savings from reduced costs for special education alone are enough to return to taxpayers an amount equivalent to the cost of a one-year program.

Quality in Early Childhood Education

The research findings cited above are not an endorsement of all early childhood programs. There is no intrinsic value in a young child's leaving home for a few hours a day to join another adult and a group of children. Program quality must be carefully defined and maintained or a preschool classroom or child care center is just another place for a child to be. The effects of preschool programs have been found for high quality child development programs only.

High quality programs is a dynamic concept. It is not a matter of teaching degrees or even financial or material resources, but the continued focus on the use of staff skills within a curriculum. It is the process of curriculum implementation that produces the results.

It was this issue of defining quality that the High/Scope Preschool Curriculum Study addressed. (8) In short, is one curriculum approach more effective than another?

The High/Scope Preschool Curriculum Study

The ongoing High/Scope Preschool Curriculum Study began in the public schools of Ypsilanti, Michigan in 1967. It served children three and four years old who lived in families of low socioeconomic status and who, according to test scores, were at risk of failing in school. The children were assigned to one of three curriculum models by a random-assignment procedure designed to ensure the comparability of the groups. The curriculum models all operated under similar administrative conditions and adhered to high standards of quality: a clearly articulated curriculum, ongoing training and supervision of staff, highly trained teachers, low teacher-pupil ratios, extensive parent involvement, adequate resources, and so on.

The curriculum models used in the project represented three major theoretically distinct approaches to preschool programs. They differed with respect to the degree of initiative expected of the child and the teacher--whether the child's and the teacher's primary roles were to initiate or respond.

The programmed-learning approach, in which the teacher initiates activities and the child responds to them, was represented by the direct-instruction preschool program developed by Bereiter and Engelmann (9) and later published as Distar. In this approach, classroom activities are clearly defined academic skills with forceful positive child management procedures.

The open-framework approach, in which teacher and child both plan and initiate activities and actively work together, was represented by the High/Scope Curriculum (6). Developed in the Perry Preschool Project, classroom activities revolve around key experiences intended to promote intellectual and social development. The underlying psychological theory is cognitive-developmental, as exemplified in the work of Jean Piaget.

The child-centered approach, in which the child initiates and the teacher responds, was represented by a nursery school program that incorporated the elements of what has historically constituted good nursery school practice. In this approach, classroom activities are the teacher's responses to the child's expressed needs and interests, and the teacher encourages children to actively engage in free play. Of the sixty-eight youngsters in the program, fifty-four were interviewed at age fifteen--a retention rate of 79 percent. Previous data collections from ages three to ten, which took place either in the preschool programs or in the school, had retention rates of 90 percent or better. Comparison of these characteristics of the remaining sample at age fifteen to the original sample characteristics indicates that the age-fifteen sample was virtually equivalent to the original sample in every respect.

On self-report ratings of social behaviors, there were clear-cut and significant differences between the Distar group on one hand and the High/Scope and nursery school groups on the other. The average member of the Distar group at age fifteen engaged in thirteen self-reported delinquent acts (girls, fourteen; boys, twelve), the average nursery school group member engaged in seven (girls, seven; boys, seven), and the average High/Scope member engaged in five (girls, four; boys, eight). On all but one item of the eighteen-item scale, the Distar group reported the highest frequency, or was tied for the highest frequency, of the three groups. On the delinquency scale, then, the Distar group reported a highly significant rate of juvenile delinquency when compared to the other two groups.

Curriculum groups at age fifteen did not yet manifest statistically significant differences in official contact with the police. Regardless of curriculum group, half the members of the sample reported having been picked up or arrested by police by age fifteen; the average sample member reported contact with the police .5 times, while average self-reported delinquency acts for the total sample was 8. In the Perry Project police arrests "caught up" with self-reported delinquency by age nineteen.

Curriculum group members at age fifteen reported on family relations, activities, school behavior and attitudes, and mental health. Corroborating the juvenile delinquency reports of the Distar group, the few group differences found in these areas suggest greater problems experienced by the Distar group as compared to the other two curriculum groups. For example, one out of three members of the Distar group said their families felt they were doing poorly, a response made by only one out of thirty-six members of the other two curriculum groups combined.

To summarize the group differences among the children at age fifteen, then, more of the Distar group members reported they were not socially well adjusted, compared to both the High/Scope and the nursery school groups. Clearly, these data from this longitudinal, small sample study suggest that there are social consequences to curriculum choice.

The Effectiveness of Good Preschool Programs

As might be expected, many studies address the short-term effects of preschool child development programs, while only a handful have been able to examine effectiveness ten years or more after the programs end. Yet, the weight of the evidence from all these studies points in the same direction.

- Poor children who attend a good early childhood development program <u>are</u> better prepared for school, intellectually and socially.
- This better start in school <u>probably</u> helps them achieve greater school success, as demonstrated by less need for special education classes and less need for repeating a grade.
- Their greater school success <u>can</u> lead to greater life success in adolescence and adulthood, as demonstrated by lower delinquency, teenage pregnancy, and welfare usage rates; and higher rates of high school completion and employment.

It is poor public investment policy to finance preschool programs at per-child levels insufficient to provide high quality programs. With limited funds, it is probably better to provide high quality programs to some children than to provide inferior programs to a larger number of children. This has been the constant dilemma of the national Head Start project, which now serves only one in five eligible children. But if quality is sacrificed in order to serve more children, the value of the program for all the children may be seriously undermined.

If a preschool program is to promote child development intellectually, socially, and physically, it must be conducted to meet high standards of quality by competent child development professionals who establish a non-directive environment that

supports active learning by the child. To meet this criterion, a child development program should have the following characteristics of staffing, curriculum, and child and family services:

- a non-directive curriculum model, derived from principles of child development, that has been evaluated and found to have positive intellectual and social outcomes
- two adults for each classroom group and a classroom enrollment limit of no more than 20 children
- teaching staff who are early childhood specialists--with bachelors' degrees in early childhood development; child development associate credentials (usually a two-year degree), or equivalent; or staff intensely supervised by an experienced curriculum specialist
- support systems to maintain the curriculum model, including curriculum leadership by administration, curriculum-specific inservice training, supervision and evaluation procedures, and teaching staff assignments that permit daily team planning and evaluation of program activities
- collaboration between teaching staff and parents, as partners in the education and development of children, including frequent communication and substantive conferences
- sensitivity and responsiveness to the child's health and nutrition needs and family needs for child care or other services

New Directions

In summary, public investment in early childhood education is an important step to improve the quality of life for disadvantaged children, their families, and society at large. Extraordinary benefits for each of the participating groups is so great that it's worth the effort to re-structure services so that all may gain. However, there are a number of issues that need to be resolved if this can happen.

(1) Currently, about 28% of the total population of children qualify for Head Start programs. The present enrollment covers approximately 20% of those eligible. A major step would be to expand National Head Start to service these children, at least until about 80% of these eligible are served.

While state funded programs are expanding dramatically, not all of the funds at the state level are going to Head Start-type youngsters or Head Start-type comprehensive programs. Some money

is going to serve middle-class youngsters with learning disabilities and those who are learning delayed; most programs do not provide comprehensive services. It would seem, however, that the best area for expansion of services is through state efforts. Policies developed to encourage states to fulfill this need for programs for children at risk are necessary using Head Start comprehensive standards of program operation.

(2) There is considerable interest in service to middle-class children through day care and other types of substitute education and care situations while parents work. Unlike that for disadvantaged children, there is no evidence from any of the literature that middle-class children "need" preschool programs. In general, the assumption is that they receive the kinds of verbal stimulation and role models from their families without the need for external services. We do not know the impact on middle-class children growing up in homes where both parents work, however. Until research is done on these types of youngsters the issues are not clear. There is also serious question as to whether services to children should be segregated by social class and income level. It would seem that services should be provided to all classes of society in an integrated fashion. Thus, the step by Head Start to include 10% of youngsters who are above the income requirements and to include 10% who are handicapped without regard to income status, is a good strategy. Active policies should be established to encourage the blending of social classes in child and family service programs.

(3) With the arrival of state funding there is the problem of schools imposing formal academic standards on young children. These involve reading, writing, arithmetic, workbooks, and lessons that are most frequently in the form of direct instruction. With the new High/Scope Curriculum Study data, however, this pattern is seriously questioned. The public schools need considerable guidance and training to adopt new ways of thinking about young children to reflect their developmental needs. The statements regarding quality programs developed by various states and by the National Association for the Education of Young Children should help on this score. However, a major effort will be needed to inform elementary school administrators and others of these facts. A well coordinated and delivered effort needs to be undertaken.

(4) With the advent of state involvement, funding for early childhood education is going mainly to the public schools. The climate for traditional existing service programs has become harsh. Until now in the United States the agencies serving young children have been a great mix representing both church-related, private for-profit, private, nonprofit, as well as various public sector groups. There is a deep concern by groups such as the National Black Child Study Institute that if the public schools take hold of the early childhood education programs, the same problems visited on disadvantaged minority children in the public schools will be extended to the preschool programs. In this area

of great distrust and concern ranging from ethical and moral issues raised by social agencies to strictly economic worries voiced by the private sector, there is a need for developing platforms for discussion and for merger of interests.

(5) One of the principal problems that the field faces is shortage of personnel. This shortage is severe for the "low wage" Head Start field because, as people become trained within the programs, they are hired by other public agencies that can afford to pay higher salaries. Thus, there is a rotation of staff into Head Start, day care and other early childhood service agencies, training provided by these agencies, movement into supervisory positions, and then, finally, out into the public schools. Strategies will have to be found to capture the value of the training that Head Start gives and to reward the best to remain as supervisors and directors. Thus, it's recommended that a two-tiered system be explored. The first tier being that of people in transition who would remain in the Head Start program for two or three years basically for the training function it provides. Head Start could provide the transition from unemployed or minimal job experiences into an individual prepared to take more responsible positions. The second tier should be a supervisor/director level which should pay staff salaries equivalent to the public schools and where longer term commitment is possible. Such as system of staff training and roles would represent a change for Head Start.

(6) One of the primary problems facing the country is not only education for children, but care of children. The development of Head Start and other child care programs into full-work day programs is gradually occurring. The entrance of the public schools into the early childhood education field is a complicating factor, however. Typically the full-day programs in the public schools are really five hour programs. Full work-day programs are 8-10 hours. Cooperative strategies among agencies with facilities and experience in dealing with child care and the public schools which have the resources will be necessary.

On the whole, the provision of early childhood care and education will be an expensive proposition. However, because of the costs of not providing the service, it becomes a wise social investment, especially for disadvantaged youth. The movement of local and state agencies providing these services seems to be the mode of the future. Strategies to enhance this movement will be necessary.

(7) Finally, there is a lack of information about the experiences of young children in both in-home and out-of-home care and education. Local government, state government and the federal government all need precise data as to where children are cared for, who provides the care and what is the quality of the care. Without such data, policy decisions regarding child welfare are not really possible. A national study to examine these issues is necessary. A cooperative involvement in the current Preprimary Study of the International Association for the

Evaluation of Educational Achievement would permit the development of such information about family needs and decision-making in the United States while taking advantage of similar data gathered in other countries. It is recommended that the IEA Preprimary Study or a similar undertaking be supported.

The Challenge

It is time for the nation to recognize the importance of early childhood education to the healthy development of its children. The research does not indicate that all programs produce outcomes such as those reported in the Perry Preschool study, or that all children who participate in such programs will obtain the same strong outcomes. But it does indicate that such programs, on the whole, can produce outcomes of value to both families and society.

The research findings of the High/Scope Perry Preschool study and the High/Scope Curriculum Comparison study indicate that high quality early childhood programs for disadvantaged children produce long-term changes in their lives--changes that permit more education, training, and employment; less crime, delinquency, and welfare subsistence; and a lower birth rate for teenage mothers. These factors weave a pattern of life success that not only is more productive for children and their families but also produces substantial benefits to the society at large through reduction in taxpayer burden and improvement in the quality of community life.

Even high quality early childhood education is not a panacea, however. It does not solve the nation's unemployment problem. It does not solve the problem of how to deliver effective education in the elementary and high school years to the "graduates" of good early childhood programs. It does not solve the problem of inadequate housing. It does not solve the nation's crime problem. Early childhood education <u>does</u> give young children at risk a firmer foundation on which to mature and prosper--an edge in opportunity and performance. It is <u>part</u> of the solution, not the <u>whole</u> solution.

FOOTNOTES

(1) Detailed presentation of these data are in Children in Poverty. (1985). Committee on Ways and Means, U.S. House of Representatives, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. See especially pps. 3-14.

(2) A special section of Education Week, May 14, 1986, presented a special report on America's Changing Outlook for Schools and Society. While the editors of Education Week prepared the report, they used, in part, the unusual data collected by Harold L. Hodgkinson of the American Council on Education.

(3) MDC, Inc., reached this conclusion after reviewing the work of various state commissions on excellence in education and reported it in Who's Looking Out for At-Risk Youth (Fall 1985). Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, Flint, Michigan.

(4) The two studies most noted are the Westinghouse Learning Corporation, The impact of Head Start: An evaluation of the effect of Head Start on children's cognitive and affective development, (1969). Vols. I-II, Athens, OH: Ohio University. And the very recent, McKey, R. H., Condelli, L., Ganson, H., Barrett, B., McConkey, C., & Plantz, M. (June 1985). The impact of Head Start on children, families and communities. (Final Report of the Head Start Evaluation, Synthesis and Utilization Project.) Washington, D.C.: CSR, Inc.

(5) The project is presented in detail in Berrueta-Clement, J. R. , Schweinhart, L. J., Barnett, W. S., Epstein, A. S., & Weikart, D. P. (1984). Changed Lives: The effects of the Perry Preschool Program on youths through age 19. (Monographs of the High/Scope Educational Research Foundation, 8). Ypsilanti, MI: High/Scope Press.

(6) The High/Scope Curriculum is presented in Hohmann, M., Banet, B., and Weikart, D. P. (1979). Young Children in Action. Ypsilanti, MI: High/Scope Press.

(7) The first economic report occurred in Weikart, D. P. (October 1971). Early Childhood Special Education for Intellectually Subnormal and/or Culturally Different Children." Prepared for National Leadership Institute in Early Childhood Development, Washington, D.C. The second report was in Weber, C. U., Foster, P. W., & Weikart, D. P. (1978). An economic analysis of the Ypsilanti Perry Preschool Project. (Monographs of the High/Scope Educational Research Foundation, 5.) Ypsilanti, MI: High/Scope Press. The most recent in Berreuta-Clement, J. R., Schweinhart, L. J., Barnett, W. S., Epstein, A. S., & Weikart, D. P. (1984). Changed Lives: The effects of the Perry Preschool Program on youths through age 19. (Monographs of the High/Scope Educational Research Foundation, 8.) Ypsilanti, MI: High/Scope Press: A full detailed account can be found in Barnett, W. S. (1984.) A benefit-cost analysis of the Perry Preschool program and its long-term effects. Ypsilanti, MI: High/Scope Press.

(8) The findings of this new High/Scope Study are reported in Schweinhart, L. J., Weikart, D. P., & Larner, M. B. "Consequences of three preschool curriculum models through age 15." The National Association for the Education of Young Children's journal, Early Childhood Research Quarterly, 1, 15-45, 1986. A discussion of some of the issues raised by several direct instruction proponents appers in the next journal, Schweinhart L. J., Weikart, D. P., & Larner, M. B. "Child Initiated Activities in Early Childhood Programs May Help Prevent Delinquency." Early Childhood Research Quarterly, 1, 303-312, 1986.

(9) The original program is presented in Bereiter, C., & Englemann, S., (1966). Teaching the disadvantaged child in the preschool. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Response to Questions
Submitted by Senator Kennedy (letter 9/10/87)

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1. Do you see any gaps in federal programs and policies? Are there new initiatives that we should be pursuing?

There are two issues important for strengthening federal programs for children. The first is that only 20% of eligible poor children are helped through National Head Start. It would seem that direct funding at the federal level or through various incentive procedures for states is necessary. It is important to see that we increase the percentage of Head Start participants to 80% within the next few years. It is difficult to imagine, given what we know about the social needs by the year 2000 and beyond for skilled and productive workers that we are not investing heavily in young children now. Since the converging data from early childhood research is so uniform in supporting the value of this investment at the ages of three and four, it appears to be a step we could take immediately to improve the future prospects for children, their families, and society.

The second issue is that clear evidence exists that families with young children need additional support, particularly those in low income groups. It would seem important that the various initiatives being taken that service for infants and toddlers be expanded at least on an experimental basis. The need for appropriate child care and other kinds of family support mechanisms is apparent. It seems also that the needs of teenage mothers are so great that new programs must be created to fill this need.

Thus, on the whole, it would appear that continuing to develop and support National Head Start as our leadership program in service to young children and adding means of getting services to infants and toddlers from poverty backgrounds with young mothers would be most important.

2. Do you think the results of the Perry Preschool Project can be duplicated in other settings?

The High/Scope Foundation is currently undertaking a 20-year follow-up of some 750 children who were in Planned Variation Head Start in 1969-70. These young people lived in Florida and in northern Colorado. We wish to discover whether or not the impact of the High/Scope approach as used in the Perry School can be

found in these young people. The initial findings in the late 60s and early 70s were very positive. This long-term follow-up will give us a chance to answer this question of transfer explicitly.

At the present time, High/Scope is involved in training some 2,000 educational leaders from public schools, Head Start, and day care agencies throughout the country. This large-scale project, funded by major U.S. foundations such as Ford, General Foods, Kellogg, Diamond, Matsushita, Wallace, among others, has given us a chance to transfer what we know about high quality programs to local settings. Widespread positive reception of this involvement indicates the possibility for positive transfer.

3. Did the Perry Preschool Project work with local schools to ensure a smooth transition between the preschool program and the start of elementary school?

The Perry Project was an experimental study. It was run by the public schools as an extension of the special services and special education department. As such, the staff operating the project had direct links to the public schools that served the children who graduated from the preschool program. However, because of the experimental nature, little effort was made to link the experiences of the preschool with the experiences of the school. This was principally because of the fact of early education being so suspect at that time that regular grade teachers were fearful of its impact on the child and the family. As the study went on and became a regular part of the school, there was increased linkage between programs. This linkage, though, was more on a general level principle rather than on specific children. The fact that both the experimental and control children went into the same public schools meant that we had to be extremely cautious of any kinds of discussions as a product of the school experience. We did not want to disrupt the program.

Currently, we recommend strongly that daycare centers and Head Starts link tightly with public schools to ensure a smooth transition. It's not so much the question of linking curricula many ways to permit parents to maintain a positive role within the school and their child's learning environment.

Mr. HAWKINS [presiding]. On behalf of the Joint Committee, we commend each and every one of the witnesses for a very excellent statement. I know you have invoked many questions of the members of the Committee. The Chair is not exactly clear on which of the members came in, in what order, but we will assume that those who sat nearest the Chair are the ones who came in first. [Laughter.]

On that assumption we will proceed, and we will ask each of the members to confine their remarks or questions not to exceed 5 minutes, and the Chair will yield its first time to the ranking Republican member, Mr. Glooding, and then we will recognize the other members in order.

Mr. Goodling.

Mr. GOODLING. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Just three quick observations. I do not remember whether it was Mr. Harris or Mr. Hamburg, or perhaps both, who made reference to two things I want to comment about.

One said you might ask where we had been all these years, and I would not waste my time asking that. The time is too short, too precious, and we do not care where you have been. It is where you are, and where we are going to go. I am not interested in where you have been.

The second comment, someone made the statement that nine months later, if you have the proper nutrition, no drugs or alcohol or tobacco, a healthy child will be born, ready to take on the world. One of the areas where I really believe you can help is in this business of educating. Nutrition alone is not going to do the jobs.

How do we get the medical profession to really speak out about the problems of alcohol, drug abuse, smoking and things of that nature. If we are really going to do a job to help these youngsters get ready to take on the world, I think it is an area where the private sector can really be helpful.

One other area where I think it can also be helpful is in helping to identify adult illiteracy. I am told by all those who work in the literacy field that one of the greatest problems is getting the adults who are functionally illiterate to come forth and indicate that they need help. You will be in a position better than many others to aid, and to encourage them is to seek that kind of help. When working at home these illiterate parents will be able help their children.

The statement was made one time when we were having testimony on something similar to this, and the gentleman who was testifying said that, well, all you have to do to beat this illiteracy problem is to get the parents to buy good books, and sit there and read to the children. I said, that is a brilliant statement. The only problem is the child may even know a few more words than the parent. Furthermore, the parent would not know how to get the good book.

I think that you can help us along those lines. Let me again say I am just delighted you are here.

Marian said it is how loud the voice is, and how sustained, and we hope it will be a partnership that will be really worth while, and very effective.

Thank you very much.

Mr. HARRIS. Could I respond to your question about how you reach the young mothers, and get them to observe good nutrition?

One of the 40 programs fundled by the Ounce of Prevention Fund in the State of Illinois, has made a grant to a program in cabrini green. We have home visitors go into the project, work with the mothers, and that program over 4 years has been able to reduce the number of low birth weight babies, from 44 a year to 14 a year. Those 30 babies, who otherwise would have been born with low birth weight, would have cost the State of Illinois $9,000 each, before they got out of the hospital. That program costs $270,000 all of which is paid back the first year. It is a matter of investment. We are talking about investment.

Usually a businessman has to figure out whether he will get paid back in 8 years, or 10 years, for that kind of benefit. You get your money back in the first year on this.

It is very, very important we work with those mothers. It is difficult. We do not get them all, but it is possible to work with them. We do it.

Mr. GOODLING. We have to make sure the whole society understands this. Unfortunately, in affluent families children suffer tremendously from mothers with alcohol and drug abuse.

Thank you.

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Martinez.

Mr. MARTINEZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

As you said, I am fortunate I sat here first, even though I came in last. I used to do that in the classroom. I used to sit in the back so the teacher would not ask me any questions. By the time she got around to me, it was time to go.

Mr. HAWKINS. Will you yield your time to one who came in first?

Mr. MARTINEZ. But I have learned to position myself differently since then.

There was a very wise man who once said, "eliminate poverty: eliminate crime." I do not agree, because I do not think all criminals are poor. I think what he had in mind has been borne out by the testimony here today. There are many cases where poverty is the ground in which the seeds of discontent are planted. This leads to frustration and people lash out at society and become society's problem.

We have all admitted that we know what to do. One gentleman feels we need to study it more, even after 25 years of study. I have been studying poverty for 50 years, because I was born into it, and I think we actually know a lot of the answers to the problems. We are just not willing to make the commitment and investment that you are talking about.

We talk about the investment in the young, because the young are our future, and we need to invest in them, so we can have a bright future. But when it comes to dollars, we would rather buy MX missiles.

One time the honorable chairman was testifying on the floor for what he called the Defense Education Act and there was a member who disagreed with him. This member advocated spending more money on defense. He said that the only reason the Federal Government exists is to provide for the common defense.

That is not what the Constitution says. The truth of the matter is the Constitution, in the Preamble, refers to six reasons why it exists. The sixth include posterity.

I would ask this, and anyone can answer, or maybe each one of you can answer this question. Why is it that in our school systems there is no real evaluation of the progress of a student, until after 12 years. At this point it is too late to do anything about correcting the lack of education in that individual? In California we give them an evaluation in the 12th grade, to make sure that they meet all the criteria to graduate. When my son graduated, he had two friends that were functionally illiterate, and yet they were graduating from high school.

Tell me why does it take so long for us to determine the need for quiker evaluations? Why can't we, even in the face of bilingual education, where they argue you make a crutch of bilingual education, provide these children with the opportunity to learn as quickly as possible. After 6 months we should evaluate how much progress the student has made in reading, writing and arithmetic, so that the student can progress on to geography, history and other subjects.

I would also like to ask somebody to respond to the question of business benefits. Shouldn't business invest? I think I am hearing that they are now saying that they should invest in their own future by putting something in aside from lipservice. The Federal Government cannot provide all the money that is necessary.

Mr. HAWKINS. Could the Chair remind the members to direct questions to specific witnesses, so that you will not exceed the five minute time. Otherwise I assume the 5 minute will be exceeded with everyone of the witnesses answering. Be more specific.

Mr. MARTINEZ. Mr. Weikart, haven't we studied enough? Don't we know what the real problems are? There have been enough problems identified.

Mrs. Edelman, the evaluaiton?

Mr. Butler, the question of the business investment?

Mr. HAWKINS. You named three.

Mr. MARTINEZ. I asked each one a different question.

Mr. HAWKINS. Could any one of the three attempt to answer the question of Mr. Martinez?

Mr. BUTLER. I will volunteer to answer all three questions, if that will satisfy the chairman and Mr. Martinez.

The Committee for Economic Development, after a couple of studies says, yes, we do know enough. Should we continue with more research and development? Of course, we should try to learn more as we go. But do we know enough to act now? Yes.

This is why we produced this report. Research and development is a continuing stream. It never stops. But there comes a point when you say at this point we know enough to move, and we should move. Our conviction after 5 years of the study of economics, the economics of education is, yes, we know enough now to move, and that is why this report was done, and that is why we are here.

To your second question——

Mr. MARTINEZ. Evaluation.

Mr. BUTLER [continuing]. Evaluation, we simply agree with you wholeheartedly, and the Committee for Economic Development, in its early study, "Investing in Our Children," calls on the continual standardized testing of children throughout their school years as

an absolute essential to the improvement of education. Children must be evaluated all the way along, and all I can do is underscore our support for that.

And third is, is business willing to pay? Business does pay a very high share of the total cost of public education, and business advocates more money for public education. Business is the primary taxpayer. Most public education is funded with property taxes, of which business is a particularly high taxpayer, and business is in fact volunteering to pay their proportionate share of more money for education.

We are calling on businessmen to take the lead, in urging their communities to appropriate more money for education.

Mr. MARTINEZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Perkins.

Mr. PERKINS. Yes, I would like to take this opportunity to thank the panel for the testimony today. I think it is something we all need to hear, and I am very pleased that we have such spokesmen that are able to present some of the things that we have heard recently.

I am particularly pleased to see that these remarks have engendered some sort of response by people within the administration that seem to be talking now, the Secretary of Education, about some things that a number of us on this panel, and the committee here have been talking about for a number of years.

We are hopeful that this type of response will continue in the future, and continue when we get into the funding patterns, and when we stop just blowing air, and see if we are going to get the money or not.

Again, I would like to go along with those things that Mrs. Edelman gave us in terms of short-term types of things that strike me as things that are achievable this year, and certainly something that we in the Congress should be striving to try to reach.

I would also, in terms of the questioning, say I was intrigued by some of the testimony of Dr. Hamburg, particularly in regards to the idea that there were two things that seemed to influence the child so much through ages 1 through 6. I guess that was the initial attachment, and then the backup type of support that was there when the child needed some sort of support.

Doctor, I am interested in terms of trying to translate that sort of thing into an early intervention. What would you say would be the best type of approach that we on the Federal level could try to do?

Mr. HAMBURG. I think the Childhood Development Centers could very well help us in that kind of response, in terms of strengthening what is out there now, in the Nation at large. There are many of parent education and social support networks and enriched day care programs that need stronger resources to carry on their fine work.

To give you one concrete example, a grantee of ours is AVANCE, in San Antonio, started by a very charismatic individual in 1972 and continuing to the present day. There are many facets to the AVANCE Program. They work with very poor, low self-esteem, rather socially isolated young parents; first of all, they make a connection, reach out to them. Home visitors go into the housing de-

velopment where they live, and make a relationship, and then bring them to the center, and have a 9-month course, where they learn about child development, and child rearing

The best scientific knowledge is conveyed in a way that is intelligible and meaningful to them in their community.

Secondly, they do it as a group, and deliberate efforts are made to foster connections among people in each group, so they can help each other develop, and get some reinforcement from the experience of others.

Some of the time, these mothers bring their children in the with them and they get good care; the mothers rotate, participating in the care, under the supervision of experienced child care workers, so that they get firsthand, hands-on guidance in a day care situation.

Mr. PERKINS. Let me interrupt. You said we can start from prenatal, but it strikes me, with the exception of something like the WIC Program, that we have a gap there from almost the period of coming into this world up to Head Start where nothing is being centered on presently, that we need perhaps to look at and address in some fashion or other.

Mr. HAMBURG. Right, and you can set out criteria by which support would be provided for units like AVANCE in San Antonio. They have had to meet the criteria of quality. And if you do that, it is basically consistent with what we learned from Head Start, and what we have learned about quality prenatal care, but it fills that major gap, and it is a gap right now.

Mr. PERKINS. I would like anyone to respond. I still feel we perhaps—I certainly feel from the Federal level we need to approach this time span in some better fashion than we presently are, and I am just interested in seeing if there is some sort of input that I can get here that would perhaps structure some sort of Federal assistance that perhaps can give us some help.

Mr. HAWKINS. Your time has expired.

Would you care to respond, Mr. Harris?

Mr. HARRIS. In Illinois we have the Ounce of Prevention Fund, which is a public-private partnership, into which our company has put $2 million over the last 6 years, and the State of Illinois has put in $25 million in the last 6 years. We run 40 centers, where we work with mothers who are about to have babies, or who have just had babies, in an attempt to provide them with much better parenting skills, and to try to develop their skills at attachment. So we are pretty cognizant of the need to work both prenatally and also after that.

There is a great lack, however, in infant and toddler day care services. There is some of it being provided in Illinois. It is very expensive. The law requires there be one adult for every 3 or 4 children.

Mr. PERKINS. Day care center services, you are centering on as being very important?

Mr. HARRIS. Infant and toddler day care services, which are very expensive, and they are meager.

Ms. EDELMAN. I want to reinforce this because there are a couple of pending things in the Congress. It is important to reemphasize because, in the context of the welfare reform debate, the discussion

which we support to move mothers off of the welfare rolls and into what I hope would be good training programs and job programs requires that you do not go cheap on child care. If we are serious about welfare prevention, we have got to bear in mind that the very children of the poor mothers whom we are trying to get off welfare are the same children that need to be in Head Start.

Whatever your votes are going to be on welfare reform in the Senate and the House this year or next year I hope you will not go cheap on child care.

Secondly, I would reinforce Mr. Harris' point about the importance of doing something about toddler and infant care, because as we know, we have got to deal with the reality of the number of women in the work force with children under three.

Thirdly, I would urge you to think about more demonstration programs that focus on enriched child care in a variety of settings for teenage mothers, so that we could try to keep those mothers in school, teach them parenting skills, and try to find ways to prevent second babies. So we need some investment money in good child care for the children of teen parents, so we can help them become better parents, and make sure that their children do not become teen parents themselves.

Mr. HAWKINS. The staff has provided me with an up to date list of the order in which the members arrived. Mr. Atkins, Mr. Sawyer and Mr. Wise.

Mr. ATKINS. Thank you very much. My thanks to the staff.

I would like to thank the panel for their testimony, particularly to thank the Committee for Economic Development for its work in putting together a number of things I think many of us have felt intuitively for a long time, and clearly putting those issues in a framework that allows us to understand them, and to act on them. I cannot think of a time in my public career when I have seen a panel with as many people from different professional perspectives and people who normally would be at the opposite ends of any public debate, given their professional responsibilities, who have been in such total agreement on the subject; and I think you have laid out very, very clearly the cost-benefit ratios of early childhood and early intervention programs.

I think it is clear that the cost-benefit ratios are greater than in any other public endeavor. There is a clear relationship between the expenditures and the desired outcomes, and there is a clear problem, and for the first time we have put a dollar figure on it, $240 billion in lost earnings and foregone taxes for each class of dropouts, and by the end of the Century an expected shortage of 23 million Americans willing and able to work.

It is clear that we face both an economic and social crisis. Your report really has been a juggernaut. There has not been, to my knowledge, a single voice raised in opposition or questioning any of the findings or assumptions of the report, but what we seem to have started now in response to the report is a shell game. Everybody recognizes the enormity of the problem, and now will get bounced back and forth as to whose responsibility it is.

But I would like to focus on Mr. Butler, and specifically the question on what is or what should be the goal and the expectations for a dollar expenditure of these programs from the Federal Govern-

ment, the State and local government and from the private sector, and how can we build a national consensus, because I think, indeed, there is a national consensus presently for the goals and objectives of your study, but rather a national consensus as to the specific commitment of resources that will be made for these programs.

Mr. BUTLER. As far as funding the programs that need to be done, this is obviously something that has to be divided amongst State and local governments and the Federal Government. After all, it is the same taxpayer who is going to fund these programs. It is a question of which way the money gets channeled from the taxpayer through an agency and back to the point of need.

Mr. ATKINS. Should there not, if I might interrupt, be a specific expectation of corporate America as to a dollar amount that they would contribute, as well?

Mr. BUTLER. I do not think so, because I think corporate America will contribute its share of whatever programs the public adopts through the tax structure. Corporate America's direct funding of these programs will come primarily in the form of demonstration projects, special grants as, for example, in Cincinnati where the business community is funding a large part of what they call Cincinnati United for Youth. But the great savings from the investment we are urging in early childhood will come within the public school systems, as Mr. Weikart's testimony indicates. Most of that money over a period of a child's schooling all comes back in reduced costs for remedial education. So that it is logical for the agency which is funding the public schools through its tax structure to fund the bulk of the early childhood preventive programs.

However, the Federal Government has a——

Mr. ATKINS. Might I ask you what is the dollar figure that we might expect for an investment from the State and local governments?

Mr. BUTLER. I think our State and local governments, to do the job properly, for all preschool children from conception to age 6, would need approximately $11 billion in total, if you did all the right programs for all the children, and if you had the human resources available to implement those programs.

Mr. ATKINS. Eleven billion dollars, on top of existing programs?

Mr. BUTLER. Eleven billion dollars total expenditure in preschool. Now, in addition to that there is title I kind of remedial work in schools that also needs to be done, but I think the bulk of that 11 billion in preschool preventive work will come from State and local governments. The Federal Government is funding about a billion dollars in Headstart. I would hope to see that figure increased to encourage the States to adopt more preschool programs.

Mr. ATKINS. If I could just quickly summarize some specific numbers, we are talking about an $11 billion increase in expenditures from birth to age 6 on the part of the State and local governments, and $1 billion increase by the Federal Government?

Mr. BUTLER. I have not said that. I said the total cost of all the programs, if implemented, is about $11 billion, of which both the Federal and State Governments are spending some money now, so that the increase—I have not been able to pull together all of the

individual programs and to cost them out, but the increased expenditure is probably in the range of $8 or $9 billion.

Mr. ATKINS. I think it would be very helpful, at least from my perspective, if there were a figure, and if the committee were able to focus some of its efforts in building a consensus around that figure. Otherwise, I think it will be piecemealed to death on this issue.

Also I believe an area where the committee could exercise real leadership would be on the question establishing the specific targets for corporate efforts, and clearly you represent a number of corporations that have funded very, very important demonstration projects. I think there ought to be an expectation of all major corporations in this country that they be a part of solving what is going to be a very real problem for them, which is a shortage of 23 million Americans able to work.

Mr. BUTLER. We agree with that, and I think the Committee for Economic Development is perfectly willing, and will undertake further economic analysis of the programs that need to be implemented and the pricing on it.

Mr. ATKINS. Thank you for that.

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Sawyer.

Mr. SAWYER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to echo the thanks that all of my colleagues have already offered to the members of the panel. I would particularly like to say to Mr. Butler, as a fellow Ohioan, that his voice is not new or unfamiliar in our state. Sometimes it has not been joined by as large a chorus as we would like.

It seems to me, Mr. Butler, that one of the great difficulties we face in attempting to intervene in early childhood is that our attempt is made in an environment composed of families that are part of the large and growing army of the unemployed, in some cases the unemployable. I wonder how we as a nation, and how corporate America as an employer, potential employer, can help to improve that environment I would like you to assess some of the strategies which have been outlined here today and which we can use to intervene in these families, both in the lives of the young army of parents, and in the lives of their children.

Mr. BUTLER. Well, there are a number of programs, and Irv Harris has named one, and in fact, has funded one. The Senate bill before you here proposes a comprehensive program that tries to reach those mothers in the housing developments, which is where they are very frequently, not always, but frequently located. Those are doable things, and we find executable programs.

Perhaps the single best thing we found in our look around the country was the New Future School in Albuquerque, NM, which is a shining example of the alternative public school which keeps the pregnant teenager in school so that the mother continues to be educated, and continues on the road to employability. In the school environment she is offered nutritional guidance, advice on alcohol and drug abuse, advice on parenting. She is in a place where they can try to get the father in, if the mother will identify him, and can bring him in, to provide further parenting education. Then when the child was born, they are able to provide infant care centers on the premises so that the child has both the attachment to

the mother, because she is right there on the school grounds where the child is, in infant care, and to provide the social network that Dr. Hamburg spoke of, to give that child in its first year the best things possible.

So that kind of program for reaching teenage parents is superbly effective, and one of the quick measures is it reduces the repeat pregnancy rate of those teenagers by 50 percent. So we serve three people. We serve the mother, by keeping her from dropping out and becoming unemployable. We serve the child by giving it the right start in life, and we serve the child that never gets born, or whose birth is deferred until a proper moment when parenting is available.

So the two programs we found were reaching those mothers by going into the developments and seeking them out, ah la, the Beethoven project, and in the case of the teenage mothers, bringing them back to school if they have dropped out, or keeping them in school if they haven't.

Mr. HAWKINS. Your time has expired.

Mr. WISE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Butler, I would like to return to the area that Mr. Atkins was discussing, and I think it is very significant and exciting to hear what is being done, and particularly in developing that national consensus. The national consensus though then also has to address how we get there, particularly financially. I am not asking corporate America to take the whole thing. This is going to be something the taxpayers will pay for.

It would seem the first step is toward developing an awareness, the second a consensus, and then how do we get there. Financially it will result in some kind of need to raise revenues somewhere. We either cut from some place, and shift, we either raise taxes, or a combination.

How do we do that, particularly at a time when I see that the House and Senate are tied up, and where it is doubtful that you are going to see a $19 billion tax increase.

Maybe you can get $20 billion worth of cuts, in a very tight budget. Have you given this some thought? Because this is an issue we all have to address, and we have to address it candidly.

Mr. BUTLER. I have given it a lot of thought, because I both feel deeply about these programs and I am a taxpayer, a fairly substantial taxpayer, and I do not mean to sound disrespectful. I do not think it is my place to tell the elected representatives of the American people whether they should achieve this by diverting money from other areas, or by raising taxes. I feel very strongly that it needs to be done.

We urge you to give this investment the kind of priority that in our minds justifies taking money from other areas, or increasing taxes. You know, if you spread this burden over State, local and Federal Government, it is something like a one percent additional tax revenue from the amount people would pay for all the programs we need, and have money left over.

Well, I am happy to pay one percent more tax, if that would achieve this purpose. I think we should recognize that this is probably a top priority for national defense, not only for American business. We cannot operate the complex armaments of today or tomor-

row with an uneducated population. I think that we need to recognize that this has to have a high priority, from an economic development standpoint, from a defense standpoint, and that it is an investment.

I am afraid that in the Federal sense most of the added money for these programs will have to come from other cuts, because, like you, my feeling is that the environment is not to raise Federal taxes. I am happy to say that the public in the States have shown a great willingness to accept tax increases to support education, and if we can convince the public, and I believe we can, this is not the end of our work. This is the beginning of our work.

Mr. WISE. You make a very good argument from the business point of views, because business puts money down, and hopes to get a good return. We are going to need that assistance, because those revenues do have to come from somewhere.

I understand you may be naturally reluctant to say where to get those things, Congressman, it is your job, but when I get them, I hope there will be assistance in putting that program across, however we get them, recognizing this is a tough area.

Mr. BUTLER. I and other CED Trustees will be using this document, now it is published, to lobby the public to support these kind of programs at both the State and the Federal level.

Mr. WISE. Thank you very much.

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Hayes.

Mr. HAYES. We came in at the same time. I yield.

Mr. HAWKINS. I am going to select Mr. Hayes, since you seem to be speaking, and perhaps you should continue for the allotted time.

Mr. HAYES. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I just want to commend you and the Senator for having this kind of a hearing, and the panelists who are focusing attention on a problem that faces this whole Nation.

I must say, from my own perspective, though, time is getting short for us to do something about it, and I have to be honest with you when I say that we have got a long ways to go, to gear this Congress to understand the gravity of this problem, that poverty is growing, and the best defense that this Nation could have is to invest in its young. And I do not think we are doing it now, personally.

If I had one question to ask each of you in the time I have left, it is what can we do to—and I represent a District that is very poor, and we just had a hearing there, another hearing the other day, a meeting with the Chicago Urban League, Mr. Harris, and I saw one or two mothers who dropped out of high school, one who had four children, and was only 20 years old, and no husband, a single head of family, but she is willing to come back to school to try to fit in this society.

What can we do to turn the attention of this Congress around as we approach the effort to try to reduce our deficit, and not have them zero in on some of the existing programs that we already have, such as Head Start, and this kind of thing, as a mechanism to save and reduce on expenditures, but rather than do it in other areas which is much more difficult, I guess, for some of us, but much more rewarding, I think, when it comes to helping us do what you say you want to do. What can we do?

I heard you say, Mr. Butler, being a businessman you have got to do something. We have got to do something. I think you have an interest and concern about it. You have expressed it. What can we do to turn around?

Mr. BUTLER. Would you like me to respond?

Mr. HAYES. Either one. I do not want to use all my five minutes talking.

Mr. BUTLER. I talk all the time. Let Mr. Harris answer.

Mr. HARRIS. I think the businessmen, many of them, including myself, are perfectly happy to pay increased taxes. I think it is nonsense for this Nation to go around the way it is, acting as though low taxes were the only thing that is important. Compared to education it is very, very unimportant that taxes be low.

Quite aside from that, I would also like to make the point it is going to be very, very difficult to spend the $11 billion that ought to be spent. If we can do that over a period of 5 years, we have achieved a great deal. There are a lot of people that have to be trained. You just cannot go out and spend that money. If you want to make things better for people who are aged, you can give them each $50 a month, or $100 a month, or $200 a month, and you can get people out from poverty by just giving the cash. You cannot do that in this problem. This is not a question of giving $50, or $100, or $200. You have got to train a lot of people.

We are doing that in the Beethoven project in your district, Congressman, and it is tough. Those mothers are difficult to work with, but we will work with them, we can work with them, and I think the important thing is to recognize that two out of three of those mothers do a good job with their children. But when they send the children to school, they find out because the other third of the mothers do not do a good job, their own kids do not get an education. We have to learn that you cannot run a school where a third of the kids come to school either hyperactive, or with a low span of attention, or prone to violence. We have got to do something about socializing those kids long before they hit the school. Otherwise the school will fail, and in your District, as you know, out of 100 kids who started kindergarten at Beethoven School, right now only 32 out of those 100 will graduate from De Sable High School, and of those 32, only two will read at the 12th grade level. That is 2 out of 100. That means 98 won't, and as we well know, a lot of these kids end up out of school, out of work, and out of the job market.

Mr. HAWKINS. Thank you.

Mr. Owens.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to congratulate all the members of the panel, and particularly the Committee for Economic Development, on the tremendous contribution that they have made already, merely by issuing its report. The kind of attention you have gotten has greatly helped the cause. I am sure that people like Mrs. Edelman and Mr. Weikart and Mr. Hamburg welcome your addition to this effort.

I think that one of the things that your study shows and emphasizes is that the one key component of this effort has to be a concentration on parents and educating parents, training parents, parent counselling, parent involvement. I think that Mr. Weikart, with his studies with Head Start, would show that no small role in

the success of Head Start was played by the fact that parent involvement is emphasized. Not only parent education and training, but parents participating in decisionmaking.

I think many Head Start programs, or most of them, had career ladders, and I find that this is a truth that everybody accepts at one level, theoretically and rhetorically, and of course, recent evidence, as they have investigated the Japanese education system, recent evidence in this area has shown the great stress that the Japanese place on preschool education, and which the parent carries out, which is primarily the key to success.

So theoretically it is accepted, but in practical terms, when you talk of actually making available the vehicles and the instruments for parents to play a greater role, there is a great deal of resistance among educators and professionals, sometimes even Congressmen, who just passed a bill, H.R. 5, in which the parent involvement statement in there is pretty strong. But when we talked in the hearings to people about maybe putting a requirement into the law which says a certain percentage of the funds, no matter how small it is, but let us require that some percentage must be spent and budgeted to carry out parent training, parent orientation, parent involvement, there was always resistance.

Parent involvement is great. Parent training is great, but let volunteers do it. Let's not spend money on tokens for coffee, if parents come to the training, or audio visual aids that might help them pick up concepts more readily. Let's not spend the money. Let's have volunteers, and have material donated.

The rhetoric and the actual practice do not jive. So my question is do you think on the basis of your own research and studies and conclusions you have reached, that you can play a major role in being an advocate for parents, and insisting that the educational establishment, the day care establishment, that the professionals do yield a bit more to what practice has shown to be workable, that it works when you have parents involved?

So let's have more of our resources, and more of our facilities, and more of our budget dedicated to the empowerment of parents and the increase in the participation of parents.

I think if you looked at the situation in terms of what steps should we take first, that might be one of the first steps you would want to take. That might be more doable in terms of it takes the least amount of heavy investment in new equipment and new facilities, and it will solve one of the biggest problems we are going to face. That is the problem, human resources, the education of parents to become child care workers.

Head Start had a career program. I can name at least a dozen people who went into the Head Start Program, and the parents didn't have a high school education. They got a high school diploma, went into a college program, and now they are teachers as a result of that Head Start Program that started 20 years ago.

I think one of the answers to our critical problem of human resources to carry out this kind of program lies in that area. I wondered if you had any thought on that, and if you could find ways to be advocates for this very sound principle which gets very little support.

Mr. BUTLER. We find that easy to do, because, in fact, we reiterate over and over again in the CED Policy Statement, on every program we discuss, that no program for early involvement with children, or intervention, is successful unless it also involves the parents. The gains in the program simply wash out unless the programs also involve parent training.

If I were to put my highest priorities on all the priorities we have here, I would put them on incentive funds to encourage localities to establish schools for pregnant young women, not necessarily teenagers, any pregnant young woman who hasn't finished high school, I would put my highest priority on incentives for that, because you get it all, including parent training.

Secondly, I would put the kind of modest funds that are required to add parent help to the child care programs that are in place.

Mr. HARRIS. We are also going one step further, and giving professional training, or paraprofessional training, to people who live in the projects, whether they are currently parents of children or not, in order to try to enhance their professional capabilities, and give them jobs, because there is a great need for people who are training, and many of the people are right there now, waiting to train.

Mr. OWENS. I heard you speak from experience. I know from the projects that you have been involved in how difficult it is, but nevertheless you obviously think it is worth doing, as Mr. Weikart I am sure will reconfirm, that Head Start works, and one reason it works is because the attention is given there.

Mr. HARRIS. The Ounce of Prevention Fund operates 10 Head Start programs.

Ms. EDELMAN. Mr. Chairman, I would just like to tie up a few loose ends, if I may, before the committee ends.

Mr. HAWKINS. Are you responding to Mr. Owens?

Mr. OWENS. Please, go ahead.

Ms. EDELMAN. I asked permission to respond to you, Mr. Owens.

There are a number of loose ends on different questions to the committee, and I would like to not leave the record unclear. I want to respond to the earlier question about accountability in the schools, and why we wait so late until we do something about children who fail to graduate.

I agree with Mr. Butler's answers, but I wanted to reinforce the point that when we do standardized testing it is important to use that testing as a way of seeing what the children need and to make sure that remediation is put in place. We need to identify the children earlier, but we need to help them when we diagnose their problems. That reinforces the need for Chapter I, and the other kind of support programs.

Mr. HAWKINS. The tests should be accompanied——

Ms. EDELMAN. By help.

Mr. HAWKINS. In the event the test discloses any weaknesses, we should have programs in place to supply the missing program that the test might disclose.

Ms. EDELMAN. One of the encouraging things is the emphasis state school officers are placing on identifying children earlier, beginning to figure out the ways in which they can respond.

The second piece I want to emphasize, I think, in response to both Mr. Atkins and Mr. Wise, is that while I think it is terribly important we all be very mindful of the deficit, I think it is equally important that we apply equally the same question to defense spending and spending for the nonpoor as we do to spending for the poor. We try to be very responsible each year in laying out our legislative agenda for children, saying here is what we want invested, and here is what it costs, and here are the options. I just hope we will apply the same hard tests for other programs.

And I would like to suggest to raise some that we are going to have to make some hard choices. For $16 million nationally, a new national investment of $16 billion a year we can lift every American child out of poverty. For $1 billion we can give every mother prenatal care, and we know what the savings are going to be. For $6 billion annually we can give every child a remediation education under Chapter I, and we are proposing that we do that investment. For $6 billion a year we can also give every preschool child a Head Start, and we know that this would make a positive difference.

We are now discussing Star Wars, which ultimately can cost us a half trillion, or a trillion dollars. We really need to talk about where is our investment is going to yield results, and ask some very hard questions.

While obviously a tax increase is one option, another possible alternative is to try to institute a tithing system. If, as a nation, we decided to tithe 10 percent of our planned increases in military budget authority we could gain an additional $30 billion for children' programs over the next 5 years. I just think that we need to start talking about a balance in our investment policies.

We have seen a real loss or cut from poor children to the tune of about $10 billion a year since 1980, so one alternative approach is to begin to talk about a much more balanced investment policy between military expenditures and some of our tax loopholes, which are still there, and specifically children's needs.

I think we need to weigh all in the battle, and specifically preventive programs for children, against a lot of things we cannot demonstrate will yield those results, and we must apply the same standards to nonchildren programs.

I guess the last thing I want to say, Mr. Hayes, because you have been out there for a long time, and I know you are weary and tired, and I know the chairman is weary and tired, is I think we have reached a watershed in the Congress, and I am encouraged. I think there is a growing constituency in the Nation for children, that the tide of misery that has been growing in the last 5 or 6 years is reaching a critical mass.

With two parent working families, we need to start talking about job policies again. I think the corporate sector has to play a role in talking about unemployment, and the need for creation of more jobs in the private sector and the public sector. I think we have got to talk about the wage base and about increasing the minimum wage, if we are going to have families able to support their children in a decent fashion, and I know there are a number of pending bills.

Secondly, I think we are going to have to begin to translate and use the media more effectively. I think we are going to have to do a massive public education campaign, and what is encouraging is that these new allies are able to command the media, and I would hope you would see a growing public interest in public education which translates back into pressure on you.

Third, I would hope that we will begin to disseminate much more systematically the voting records of the member of Congress on children's votes, so that when you go back home the people can ask you why you voted against Head Start, or why you voted against preventive health care, and why that makes sense in light of the deficit. So I would hope that there would be more accountability, and more constituencies heard from who are concerned about children, and I guess I am convinced with what is going on this year, when you cut out a terrific budget on the House Budget Committee with the support of the Republicans and Moderates, and Southern Democrats, I think we will see that we are really on a positive direction, and I just hope we can build on that.

Mr. HAWKINS. Thank you. I am sure those various comments were very much in order.

Now that all the members have asked questions, Senator Kennedy had planned to return, but unfortunately has been detained by vote on the floor of the Senate.

May I, in that connection, indicate that Senator Kennedy has asked that questions which he might have asked, be prepared and submitted to the witnesses, and I would hope that the witnesses would respond. The same privilege will be accorded to other members who may have questions that they will not have an opportunity to ask today.

The Chair has many, but may I simply attempt to make one point?

It would seem to me that one of the points that was left unclarified has been the cost of recommendations that many of you have made, and I think Mrs. Edelman would add a lot more to such recommendations, even the CED would, and has already included.

It seems to me rather apparent that obviously that will be a troublesome question. Various amounts have been tossed out. Eleven billion dollars, and other costs have been indicated. It is obvious that such an increase that we are being asked, the taxpayers, to make, has to come from someone. I am not sure we have completely clarified this afternoon how the costs will be allocated.

I would assume, Mr. Butler, on what you have said, that we are all taxpayers, in a sense, and this taxpayer is himself paying taxes in both the State, and local levels, as well as the Federal level. There does not seem to be a great propensity, or a great enthusiasm for raising taxes among anyone. There is, however, a troublesome in terms of how the costs will be allocated among Federal, State and local taxpayers.

I am wondering whether or not, Mr. Butler—I will certainly focus on a particular witness—is it reasonable to assume that the Federal Government, which has been decreasing its contribution to the great cost of American education, would be asked to, not increase, but to stop decreasing, as they have been doing over the last several years. It seems to me that is one place where we prob-

ably might look for a greater contribution, certainly a greater commitment on the part of the Federal Government, instead of reducing the Federal share of the cost of our schools, that the Federal Government itself would be asked to increase its share, or at least not to decrease it.

I am so sure this lies within the realm of the CED, but would you care to respond on what you think?

Mr. BUTLER. I can respond to that question directly, and not only for myself, but for the entire CED Policy and Program Committee, who did address that question, and very clearly and strongly advocates an increase in Federal support for education funding for disadvantaged children.

We have specifically suggested, for example, that the Federal Government move toward full funding of Title I, for every eligible child, which would require something in the neighborhood of a doubling of Title I funding into the education system from the Federal Government. That is the CED's specific recommendation.

I will add a personal note, that my own view is that most of the new early childhood intervention efforts should be funded within the State and local governments, and should be kept close to the people in selling the programs, managing the programs, and funding the programs, and that in order to permit the States to concentrate in that area the Federal Government ought to step up and pretty much assure full funding of the remedial programs that are required for all those children who are going to graduate by the year 2000, who are already in school, and need remedial help.

Mr. HAWKINS. Would that include both Head Start and Chapter I?

Mr. BUTLER. I think the increases in Head Start, although I would love to see the Federal Government set the tone by continuing to build Head Start funding to some degree, I think the bulk of Head Start funding should come at the State level. That is early childhood intervention, and I think the bulk of the funds needed to complete Head Start as a program available to every child, should come mostly from the States, but the Federal Government should continue, and perhaps add some to its Head Start funding, to encourage the States in that direction.

Mr. HAWKINS. When the proposal was advanced to set a goal of, let's say, within a period of time for full funding of these programs, let's confine it to Head Start, Chapter I, on an incremental basis, so much a year, until, let's say, 4 or 5 years there will be full funding of both programs, and I think that is a strong recommendation of CED, was it based on this being done at only the State and local level, or was there some connection of that with the Federal Government insuring that that goal will be reached, and that a financial commitment would be expected of the Federal Government, as well?

Mr. BUTLER. We believe that commitments are needed at the State and local level, and at the Federal level.

Mr. HAWKINS. All three levels.

Mr. BUTLER. And a timetable is necessary, for the reason that has been cited here, this requires the training and development of human resources which has to go along with the increase in money. But if a clear goal were set at the Federal level, and at the

State level, and we think that the Governors and the Commissioners of the States are moving in that direction in their responsibilities, I think if clear goals are set out for 5 years, and a clear picture of the kind of funding that is available is set out for, say, a 5-year period, that will be the encouragement we need to insure that the human resources to implement those resources are, in fact, developed because the opportunity to do it will be there.

Mr. HAWKINS. I note the $11 billion would come up in a story, or a headline some place. Would you agree perhaps that some refinement of that amount should be made, so that we just do not toss it out, but that we have some idea of how the cost is going to be allocated?

Mr. BUTLER. Yes. As I said to Congressman Atkins, I think this is the kind of thing that CED is well equipped to do. This is the kind of thing that we can do, and we will undertake to try to do it.

Mr. HAWKINS. I am sure we have other questions, but everyone has been patient. Again, the Chair would like to thank the witnesses on behalf of the joint committee, both the Senate and the House, and this is a continuing relationship. we have not just had a little short meeting, and we will break up, but that we will, I hope, have a continuing interest in the contribution of each of the witnesses.

With that, the meeting is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 4:25 p.m., the joint committee adjourned.]

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